

COMPASSION AND WAR:

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL PRACTICE OF VOLUNTARY COMMUNITY SERVICE IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICA

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Thesis submitted in part fulfilment of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

This study undertakes a critical investigation of the ideology underpinning the social practice of voluntary community service (VCS) in contemporary America. VCS is described as a hegemonic practice promoted by the Bush government, with the aim of social regulation and control of the people. The study combines Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with Michel Foucault's theorising of the practices of modern government, for its methodological and analytical procedures. It incorporates Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach and Van Leeuwen's discourse analytical approach, i.e. recontextualisation, representation of social actors and social action, and legitimation. Two sets of data are analysed: political discourse which comprise four key speeches by G.W. Bush between 2001 and 2002, and data from an ethnographic study of a group of grassroots practitioners of VCS in the state of Oklahoma.

The analyses of Bush's speeches centre on his attempts to mobilise the American people in VCS through the launching of a national service program – 'the USA Freedom Corps'. The thesis compares Bush's 2001 Inaugural Address and the 2002 State of the Union Address, of which only the latter appears to have succeeded in getting more people to volunteer. The analyses reveal a discursive shift in Bush's strategy from the pre- and post- September 11 period, whereby the latter speech appeals not only to the nation's patriotic feelings but also represents VCS as a 'wartime effort' in connection with the September 11 attacks and the subsequent 'War On Terror'. The analyses show the discursive deployment of the right-wing Christian ideology underpinning Bush's service initiative that is part of his political philosophy – 'compassionate conservatism', and its policy for welfare reform – the Faith Based Initiative. The ethnographic study of the grassroots level practice of VCS demonstrates how this dominant ideology is adopted and naturalised amongst the VCS practitioners. The USA Freedom Corps and the Faith Based Initiative are discussed as programs of conduct that steer its practitioners (the American people) to adopt the preferred attitudes, beliefs, practices and lifestyles. It is argued that the social practice of voluntary community service in contemporary America has become a hegemonic practice that aims for moral regulation and social control.

- Dedication -

To Dharma:

'For true compassion in mankind'

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Why of course people don't want war...But after all, it is the leaders for the country who determine the policy and it is always a simple matter to drag the people along, whether it is democracy or a fascist dictatorship or a Parliament or a Communist dictatorship... voice or not voice, the people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you have to do is to tell them they are being attacked and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same way in any country.
(Herman Goering, 1938, cited in Gilbert, 1947)

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Setting the Scene

In January 2002, in his State of the Union Address, President George W. Bush called on every American to dedicate at least two years or 4,000 hours over the course of their lives to voluntary community service. He stated that although Americans have been actively engaged in service, the Federal government could support them more and enhance their involvement in service to others. To this end, he claimed he had established the USA Freedom Corps, his national service initiative. But most importantly, he had also declared that his call for service and the USA Freedom Corps had been summoned by the exigencies of the September 11 attacks.

My call tonight is for every American to commit at least two years – 4000 hours over the rest of your lifetime – to the service of your neighbors and your nation. Many are already serving, I thank you. If you aren't sure how to help, I've got a good place to start. To sustain and

extend the best that has emerged in America, I invite you to join the new USA Freedom Corps. The Freedom Corps will focus on three areas of need: responding in case of crisis at home; rebuilding our communities; and extending American compassion throughout the world. (George W. Bush, State of the Union Address, Jan 2002)

Consequently, surveys¹ reported that the number of people volunteering rose in comparison to past years due to the president's national service program and call for service. The Independent Sector² reported in March 2002 that approximately 44 percent of Americans were involved at the time in volunteering activities and they served an average of 185 hours annually. According to this report, since the president's launch of the USA Freedom Corps initiative, Americans had enlisted in record numbers into its various programs:

the new web site has been visited more than 6.5 million times, more than 18,000 people have requested applications to the Peace Corps (an increase of 54 percent over the same period last year), applications to AmeriCorps programs are up nearly 50 percent, calls to Senior Corps are up nearly 200 percent and visits to that website are up 500 percent, and almost 20,000 people from all states have signed up to participate in the new Citizen Corps effort. (Independent Sector, 2002)

The US Department of Labor later expanded on these claims in its press release in December 2004, with statistical evidence of the people's involvement in service following the terrorist attacks:

¹ A press release in February 2004 by the Corporation of National and Community Service (CNS) of the findings of its joint study undertaken by senior researchers and academics at the Urban Institute's Center on Nonprofits and Philanthropy (a non-profit policy research and educational organization that examines the social, economic and governance challenges in America) and University of Georgia, stated that more Americans are involved in service since the president's call. This research was supported by the USA Freedom Corps, the Corporation for National and Community Service and the UPS Foundation (an organization whose major initiatives currently include programs that support increased nationwide volunteerism, family and workplace literacy, and hunger relief) (<http://www.nationalservice.org>).

² The Independent Sector sponsors research about charity and philanthropy. It is affiliated to the USA Freedom Corps and Corporation for National and Community Service (<http://www.independentsector.org>).

Number of volunteers and the volunteer rate rose over the year ended in Sept 2003. About 63.8 million people did volunteer work at some point from Sept 2002 to Sept 2003, up from 59.8 million for the similar period ended in September 2002. The percentage of the American population who volunteered has increased to 28.8 percent, up from 27.4 percent the previous year. This comes after the President created The USA Freedom Corps to foster a culture of service, citizenship and responsibility. (United States Department of Labor News, Bureau of Labor Statistics: Volunteering in the United States, 2004)

Besides government-led organisations, market surveys by non-profit organisations had also stated that there was a sustained commitment to volunteer service by Americans.³ Six years on and the trend is said to have caught-on. In its research briefing in 2007, 'Volunteer Growth in America: A review of trends since 1974',⁴ the Corporation for National and Community Service reports that volunteer rates are at a historic high due to the President's call for service and the USA Freedom Corps. President Bush's USA Freedom Corps has been affirmed as the most successful service initiative to date. It has been credited for not only increasing volunteer efforts in record numbers, but also reviving past initiatives, e.g. President Kennedy's Peace Corps today has the highest number of volunteers in 28 years, since it was first established (US Department of State, International Information

³ Lions Clubs International's study that was conducted in February 2004, reported that almost 54 percent of its respondents quoted having donated their time by volunteering to a charitable, civic or community cause (<http://www.lionsclub.org>). In another news release, Thrivent Financial for Lutherans, a not-for-profit Fortune 500 financial services organization said that fifty-seven percent of American adults said they had volunteered with a non-profit organization or charitable cause in 2004, up nine percentage points from a year earlier (<http://www.thrivent.com>).

⁴ This BLS report presents an in-depth look at volunteerism for the period from 1974 to 2005. The data were collected in 1974, 1989 and 2002-2005 from the Current Population Survey (CPS). The CPS is a comprehensive and scientifically rigorous survey of 60,000 American households conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau and the Bureau of Labor Statistics. It states in this report that it aims to work in partnership with schools and nonprofits to further increase the number of volunteers by 10 million from the 65 in 2005 to 75 million in 2010 (<http://www.nationalservice.gov>).

Programs, USA Freedom Corps Fast Facts Sheets:

<http://www.usafreedomcorps.gov>).

In summary, it is stated by government officials that the USA Freedom Corps is a White House national service initiative and its goals reflect the exigency of the attacks as it situates national security as its prime concern (US Department of State, International Information Programs, USA Freedom Corps Fast Facts: <http://www.usafreedomcorps.gov>). This source claims that today the initiative has included local community service and global service projects as part of its broader goals. In this way, it is said to have become the coordinating council of voluntary service for the Bush government. It is chaired by the president, and its comprehensive volunteer network includes programs such as Peace Corps, Senior Corps, AmeriCorps, Learn and Serve America, etc that represent, facilitate and manage volunteer organisations as well as people from every level of the society and every part of the country who are engaged in the practice of voluntary community service.

1.1.1 General Aims of the Study

In this study, I investigate the social practice of voluntary community service (henceforth referred to as 'VCS') in America, which today comes under the auspices of the USA Freedom Corps. The thesis explores the discourses (representations) of VCS by various actors to demonstrate how in the post-September 11 Era, this social practice involves processes of hegemony that aim for moral regulation and social

control. It investigates social relationships, social structures, and issues of power distributed within VCS. For this purpose, it draws upon Critical Discourse Analysis' stance of discourse as a social practice that sees discourse as both produced and shaped by ideology.

1.2 Volunteerism and National Service in America

I have started this chapter by introducing the topic and providing the background to the study, as well as the general aims. In this section, I include a narrative about volunteerism and national service in America. This will illustrate the socio-historic context in which VCS as a social practice has evolved. It will also show the interrelations between state, society and voluntary service. I end the section by stating the motivations and arguments that have led to my investigation of the social practice of VCS in America.

1.2.1 National Service Programs of the American Governments

In this section, I bring into perspective the historical origin of national service programs by looking at the initiatives of past American presidents which will lead us into the more recent developments of Bush's USA Freedom Corps as a national program that aims to engage the people in voluntary service to achieve the government's agenda for welfare reform. It will also enable us to view it as a 'wartime initiative' to consider how Bush has strategically used the nation's mood in the exigencies of September 11 to mobilise the people in voluntary service.

Americans have long been known for their strong tradition in volunteerism, in fact service is said to be a part of their ethics (Wuthnow, 1991). As ex-president Clinton (2003: 68) sees it, “citizen service is as old as our Republic”. Alexis de Tocqueville (1998) wrote over a century and a half ago that the ethic of service, which is the defining characteristic of the American people, urges them to help one another and persuades them to willingly sacrifice their time and property to the welfare of the state. In line with such traditions, to ensure the continuous engagement of the people in voluntary service, the American presidents and their governments have over the years launched various national service programs. Marshall and Magee (2003) make a distinction between volunteerism and national service. While volunteerism may involve an individual’s giving of a few hours a week to help at the local community centre to more sustained long-term commitment within an organisational setting, national service programs involve the government and aim to mobilize citizens in “focused, disciplined, and results-oriented efforts to solve our biggest problems” (Marshall and Magee, 2003: 78).

The concept of national service was first introduced by William James in 1910. In his essay entitled ‘The Moral Equivalent of War’, James envisioned national service as a means to “inflame the civic temper” in Americans (James cited in Marshall and Magee, 2003: 74). Since then most American presidents have endorsed national service as civic duty and the responsibility of the people to tackle issues ranging from poverty to drug dependence to war. The first national service program was started by President Franklin D. Roosevelt between 1933 and 1942. He created Civilian Conservation Corps and enlisted millions of young Americans to

serve 6 to 18 months to restore the nation's parks, revitalize the economy and support families and friends. He also enacted the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 and in return offered educational opportunities as incentives for the service given to the country.

President John F. Kennedy's appeal for volunteerism came in the form of the Peace Corps, a program which trains volunteers to serve in developing countries. This was followed by Lyndon B. Johnson and his well-known 'War on Poverty' (1964 – 69) for which he created VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America), the National Teachers Corps, the Job Corps, Foster Grandparent Program, and others (Marshall and Magee, 2003). The 1990s saw further advancement of national and state programs for greater citizen volunteer engagement. President George Bush Sr. established The Points of Light Foundation.⁵ Bill Clinton signed into law the National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993 and created the Corporation for National and Community Service (CNS) which coordinated three other national service programs: AmeriCorps, Senior Corps and Learn and Serve America. The Corporation and the Points of Light Foundation assumed a central role in the promotion of both public and private volunteer involvement, including managing more than 400 local volunteer resource centres nationwide (Gazley and Brudney, 2005). The prime goal of these centres is to promote citizen volunteerism and to act

⁵ He also created The Daily Points of Light Award to honour those who volunteered (Gazley and Brudney, 2005: 132). Brudney (1995) suggests that the daily tribute made to volunteers, the publicity and promotion that the Foundation offered to more than 1,000 volunteers within a very short period, lead to positive effects on citizen motivation to volunteer. The POL Foundation's Mission Statement is analyzed in Chapter 8, to locate the ideology (of the government) that underlies the social practice of VCS in contemporary America, thus the foundation is one of the main actors investigated in this thesis.

as the central organising network that provides volunteer agencies and communities with technical and financial support and advice (Brudney, 2003).

In accordance with the trends set by his predecessors, President George W. Bush had also put his own imprimatur on federal and national service programs. From his first major speech as a presidential candidate in 1999, Bush had made expanding civic engagement and increasing civic institutions as a central aim of his measure for fighting poverty and replacing the welfare state. The main feature of this was his plan to enlist faith and charitable organisations in the delivery of social services. Upon his inauguration in the year 2000, as part of his political philosophy ‘compassionate conservatism’, his first measure was to establish the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (Tomasi, 2004: 324). In January 2001, 8 months before the September 11 attacks, in his Inaugural Address, Bush articulated his vision for expanding the involvement of the people in VCS. He said he would call upon his “armies of compassion” to fight poverty. To advance his Faith Based Initiative, he challenged the people to become citizens to serve their communities and country, in his 2001 Inaugural Address (George W. Bush, Inaugural Address, January 2001).⁶

⁶ Bush's call to the people to be citizens is a crucial part of my analysis in this thesis. I consider this his first call for service, prior to the one in the 2002 State of the Union Address discussed in the 'Setting of the Scene'. I analyse the 2001 Inaugural Address in Chapter 5.

1.2.2 The USA Freedom Corps as a Wartime Initiative to Mobilise the People

But despite all these efforts to increase volunteerism, in the year 2000, Harvard Sociologist Robert Putnam stated that civic engagement by the American people had been in decline for the previous thirty years (Putnam, 2000). In a later article, he lamented that the Americans of the twentieth century are far less concerned with their community and society.

We voted less, joined less, gave less, trusted less, invested less time in public affairs, and engaged less with our friends, our neighbours, and even our families. Our “we” steadily shrivelled. (Putnam, 2003: 13)

Basing his argument on American history and the qualitative evidence of civic resurgence during wartime, Putnam (2000) suggested that only a national crisis such as war or natural disaster would restore civic engagement in America today. Much to the horror of the people, America was faced with such a national tragedy on September 11, 2001, and in the days after the attacks, Americans were indeed seen to have “come together”, what some have termed the growing of another “great generation” since the Vietnam War (Khazei, 2003: 166). Skocpol (2003) describes this as the civic revival that took place in the wake of a national tragedy.

Along with the horror wrought by the terrorist attacks came an outpouring of solidarity and patriotism—a sudden change of heart for many Americans who, prior to that fateful day, had seemed to be drifting inexorably toward individualism, self-absorption, and cynical disinterest in public affairs. (Skocpol, 2003:22)

Greenberg (2001) adds that in the aftermath of the attacks the “we” mattered more than the “me”, as Americans became more connected to their families,

neighbours and friends and declared their allegiance to their membership of the American national community. But while the nation celebrated what seemed to be a historic civic revival in the wake of the attacks, a national study conducted by Putnam (2001) and colleagues of Americans' civic attitudes and behaviours found that attitudes had shifted more than behaviour. But as only behavioural changes can lead to civic engagement, they have refuted the claim that there had indeed been a revival of civic activity in the aftermath.

The survey which was conducted in the summer and fall of 2000 and continued with the same respondents between mid-October and mid-November 2001 in the wake of the attacks revealed that, although Americans' feelings toward government and one another had become more favourable, their changes in terms of volunteering and joining service were minimal (Putnam, 2002; 2003). Although surveys conducted in the aftermath had described Americans as having given more⁷ and having increased national pride,⁸ the civic revival thereafter could not be attributed to the attacks and the war on terror alone. According to Putnam (2002; 2003), Americans' consciousness was largely moulded by past wars such as World War II, but the September 11 attacks did not trigger the same kind of long-term civic revival that America had seen during its past wars.

⁷ The findings of a survey by the Independent Sector -- 'A Survey of Charitable Giving After September 11th 2001, found that 'seven in ten Americans had contributed money, blood or time to support the disaster relief and recovery effort' in the aftermath (<http://www.independentsector.org>).

⁸ The findings of a study by Smith et al., for the National Organization for Research (NORC) at the University of Chicago, Oct 2001 -- 'America Rebounds: A National Study of Public Response to the September 11th Terrorist Attacks' showed that there was an increase in national pride, confidence in institutions, and faith in people and human judgments amongst Americans in the days following the attacks (<http://www.norc.org>).

Skocpol (2003: 22-31) explains that there are two main reasons for this. First, in the past there were more voluntary member associations that the federal government could call upon in times of crisis which could immediately mobilise volunteers. Secondly, during World Wars I and II, while citizens were eager to volunteer, the federal government had also intervened by introducing some measure for mass mobilisation of the people in voluntary activities as sacrifice for the nation. She asserts that in the days following the September 11 attacks, the Americans' sudden display of "new attitudes of social solidarity and trust in government" without changing patterns in "collective civic solidarity" is understandable. While wartime crisis may evoke attitudes of civic solidarity, only a combination of government mobilisation with available organisational channels will enable the people to act together (Skocpol, 2003).

1.2.3 Linking the Civic Revival to Bush's Call for Service, the USA Freedom Corps, September 11 and the War On Terror

Although scholars have argued that a civic revival did not happen after September 11, the Bush government however has incessantly declared that such a revival did take place, and that the president's call for service and the USA Freedom Corps had been warranted by this civic upsurge. In his foreword to the Corporation of National and Community Service, Bush states:

Americans have always believed in an ethic of service and civic responsibility that includes helping those in need and promoting the common good. Since September 11, Americans have demonstrated their true character in unity, generosity, patriotism and civic pride... While most of our Nation's civic work is being done without the aid of the government, the Federal

Government can do a much better job in helping support and encourage a culture of community service and civic responsibility. (President George W. Bush, Foreword to the Corporation for National and Community Service, <http://www.nationalservice.org>)

Such claims have been repeatedly stated not only by Bush, but also by others. For example the director of the USA Freedom Corps, John Bridgeland states:

We know that there was an increase in Americans participating in volunteer service in the aftermath of 9/11. There was a surge of interest and activity. Americans wanted to do something – they wanted to contribute to their communities and their country. (<http://www.usafreedomcorps.gov>)

These claims continued in other service related documents.⁹ For example, in the Executive Summary of the Corporation for National and Community Service (CNS), it is claimed that the attacks had created a need in the people to serve:

Out of the tragic events of September 11 2001, Americans are looking for more ways to do good. We must do all we can to support them. President Bush created the USA Freedom Corps to foster a culture of service, citizenship and responsibility... The President has identified a number of actions to encourage and support those who want to serve their country. (Foreword to National Corporation for Community Service, <http://www.nationalservice.org>)

But there seem to be some inconsistencies in the Bush government's reporting that there was a civic resurgence in the aftermath of September 11, and especially that the call for service and the USA Freedom Corps were the government's means to fulfil the need of the people to engage in service. Later

⁹ In the foreword in the Guidebook for 'Students in service to America', a national program to engage youth in service, it is also stated that the USA Freedom Corps was set up by the president in response to the civic consciousness that was evoked by September 11: "To harness the outpouring of civic pride that emerged after the terrorists attacks of September 11, 2001, and foster a culture of service, citizenship, and responsibility in America, President Bush created the USA Freedom Corps. As part of that initiative, he called on all Americans to commit at least two years of their lives to service ...". (<http://www.studentsinservicetoamerica.org/guidebook>).

reports by government organisations have attributed the increase in civic activity to the president's call for service. The Independent Sector¹⁰ concluded in its report in December 2002 that asking Americans to serve does make a difference to whether they do: "63 percent of the respondents stated that they had volunteered because they had been asked by the President". In a similar vein, research carried out by the Centre for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement at the University of Maryland states that most young volunteers say that they got involved in service because they had been asked.¹¹

Thus, on the one hand it is claimed that it was Bush's call for service and USA Freedom Corps that had increased the people's engagement in service after 9/11, but on the other, the government has also stated that it was the civic resurgence in the aftermath that had demanded the federal government's intervention vis-à-vis the call for service and the USA Freedom Corps. This discrepancy further continues as market surveys¹² have attributed the civic revival to a combination of two key factors – the September 11 attacks and the War on Terror. Thrivent Financial for Lutherans found that in 2004 "more than one in five Americans reported that they

¹⁰ The findings of this study by the Independent Sector for the USA Freedom Corps are stated in the USA Freedom Corps- White House Fast Fact Sheet (<http://www.usainfo.state.gov>).

¹¹ The findings of this survey by the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement at the University of Maryland validates that most young people are involved in volunteer activities today as a personal response to the president's plea (<http://www.usainfo.state.gov/usa/volunteer>).

¹² Lions Club International and Thrivent Financial for Lutherans state that the number of people volunteering in the year 2004 has risen up nine percent from the previous year. Thrivent attributes this rise to September 11 and the War on Terror (<http://www.lionsclub.org>; <http://www.thrivent.com/newsroom>).

are more involved in volunteer work as a result of 9/11 and the war on terrorism”

(<http://www.thrivent.com>).

These different views about the civic resurgence in America have led to this current study. This thesis argues that in the aftermath of September 11, a ‘window of opportunity’ was opened for the sort of civic renewal that may occur once or twice a century (Putnam, 2003: 17). And as Kingdon (2003: ix) puts it, this is when politicians opportunistically “hook solutions to problems, proposals to political momentum, and political events to policy problems”. He identifies three major policy streams for the advancement of political agendas: problem, politics and policy. The problem stream is the process of defining and directing attention to a specific issue defined as a threat to the nation’s welfare, security, etc. The political stream refers to changes or shifts in national mood, swings in ideological landscape of government, and the activities of prominent groups. The policy stream includes the creation of legislative alternatives, which in turn are defined by their feasibility and correspondence to national moods, trends and values, as well as to their relationship to future constraints. At politically propitious moments, a window of opportunity opens through a careful management by policy entrepreneurs who are constantly on the lookout for such windows of opportunity, e.g. a crisis, a disaster, a shift in national mood, administration change, etc. Through strategic planning by these entrepreneurs, the three streams are converged in order to implement government agenda (Kingdon, 2003: 182).

In this spirit, this thesis contends that the events of September 11 had changed the national mood, which in turn had helped shape Bush's efforts to engage the people in VCS. From his call for them to be citizens in January 2001, he had strategically changed his approach to suit the national climate and his political agenda in the aftermath by launching the USA Freedom Corps and calling on Americans to join his initiative, in his 2002 State of the Union Address. According to Gazley and Brudley (2005: 132), with the nation focusing on national security and disaster preparedness, the USA Freedom Corps has managed to institutionalise a new awareness in civic engagement. With the trauma of September 11 shifting the focus of federal volunteerism policies towards terrorism prevention, the USA Freedom Corps' emphasis at city and country level has been a crucial factor for the success in the engagement of the people in volunteerism. Its program, the Citizen Corps, which is better known as a disaster preparedness and response program that depends heavily on citizen volunteers, is mainly responsible for this success (Gazley and Brudley, 2005: 132). Marshall and Magee (2003: 76) explain that if before the attacks Bush's measure for engaging the people involved Faith and Charitable organisations to create "Communities of Character which extolled private volunteerism and derided national service as paid volunteerism", after the attacks he managed a conflation of volunteerism and national service which is a combination of the conservatives' 'Points of Light' volunteerism and New Democrats' conception of national service as full-time, year-round service.

1.3 The Specific Aims and Approach of the Study

The discussion so far has led to the argument that the success of the USA Freedom Corps in engaging the people in volunteerism can be attributed to three interrelated factors, namely Bush's call for service, September 11 and the War on Terror. Political discourse, thus, is the primary focus for the analyses in this thesis as it focuses on Bush's speeches to uncover his strategies to legitimate and implement his national service initiative in order to mobilise the people through volunteerism at a time of 'war'. It explores the significance of the concept of 'war' which is explained in the quote used as the epigraph for this chapter – of how wars have always been helpful in enabling a government to gain the support of the people to achieve its goals. Besides 'war' it also considers how a 'national tragedy', i.e. September 11, has been strategically used to gain compliance and support of the people for the government's program. More broadly, it investigates a discursive shift in Bush's advocacy of a move away from the welfare state towards the national service program and its consequences for the representation of the contingent concepts such as poverty, welfare and VCS in contemporary America.

According to Chilton and Schäffner (2002: 3), political activity does not exist without the use of language; this means that the doing of politics is predominantly constituted in language. To this end, this thesis extends upon past and current investigation of political discourse in the areas of rhetoric, pragmatics and critical discourse analysis, e.g. the study of political talk (Harris, 2001), political broadcast and interviews (Atkinson, 1984; Scannell, 1991), the role of media, government and

politics (Fairclough, 1998; Schäffner, 1997; Van Dijk, 1998), ideology and political discourse (Hudson, 1978) and political language in general (Chilton, 1985; McCarthy, 2002; Wilson, 1990; Wodak, 1989; Lakoff, 1990). In addition, it extends upon current studies about the legitimation of war in the post September 11 period, e.g. Lazar et al., 2004; Ryan 2004; Graham et al., 2004; Altheide, 2004; Kellner, 2004; Chouliaraki, 2004; Edwards, 2004. To this, it incorporates an investigation of the practices of service at the grassroots level to complete the investigation of VCS from a macro and micro level, to illustrate how this practice in the post September 11 period has become a hegemonic practice that aims for moral regulation and social control.

The study adheres to the methodological and analytical paradigms of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA has its roots in Critical Linguistics, which is a branch of discourse analysis that goes beyond the description of discourse to an explanation of 'how' and 'why' particular discourses are produced (Teo, 2000: 11). This approach posits language, and more broadly discourse/s, as the instrument for ideological manipulation which legitimates social inequalities and asymmetrical power relations in society. In this sense, it informs the approach for this thesis that examines linguistic structures and discursive strategies in the light of their interactional and wider social contexts, to uncover the ideologies and social meanings that the discourse(s) conveys.

The thesis follows Critical Discourse Analysis' (CDA) understanding of discourse as being socially constituted and socially constitutive, and more

specifically of how language and discourse are socially constitutive of identities, social relationships, and systems of beliefs -- of either reproducing and maintaining them through existing conventions/ practices, or challenging and transforming them through more strategic or creative practices (Fairclough, 1989; 2000; 2003). The 'critical' stance of this approach signals for analysts to unveil the ideological underpinnings of discourse that have become naturalised over time which society treats as commonsense and natural features of everyday discourse. In this way, ideology is also said to have become naturalised, and this is a key feature of the practices of modern governments' rule by consent, vis-à-vis programs of government that produce and legitimate the ideologies of those in power positions (Fairclough, 1989).

The thesis incorporates Foucault's (1991a: 88) 'governmentality' approach for the analysis of the practices of the modern government, and more specifically how social control is engineered and structured into the practices of the people. 'Government' for Foucault, refers not only to political measures or to the management of states; rather it also embodies the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be structured and directed. The views of political scientists, e.g. Rose (1996; 1999), Triantafillou (2004) etc., are included to expand on the Foucauldian concept of 'governmentality' for the study of the practices of liberal and neo-liberal governments' means for governance, e.g. through community.

The combination of these approaches (CDA and governmentality) helps this study to investigate how a modern government's goals for social control come to be

implemented, legitimated and exercised. For this general aim, the thesis illustrates how Bush's national service campaign, the USA Freedom Corps, is an instrument for governing citizens through its use of a commonsensical practice such as VCS for the regulation of moral and social conduct. The investigation uncovers the ideology of the practice of VCS in modern-day America from the perspectives of its origins, rationale, legitimation, naturalisation and as the shared practices of the society to show how this draws upon the principles of hegemony. In sum, the approach that this thesis adopts is a critical, multidisciplinary approach to discourse analysis which focuses on issues of power, dominance and hegemony, and the discursive processes of their implementation, concealment, legitimation, and reproduction in the domain of welfare reform and social regulation.

This thesis gives importance to the centrality of discourse as the main instrument for the dissemination of ideology. More specifically, its investigation aims to illustrate how ideology comes to be legitimated and naturalised as commonsensical. It focuses on three key concepts as being pertinent to the study of ideology, namely, 'context', 'recontextualisation' and 'legitimation'. In CDA, texts are said to be influenced by their environment, while also being constitutive of context (e.g. Chilton and Schäffner, 2002). In this thesis, a comprehensive investigation of the contextual elements of the voluntary community service is undertaken to illustrate the main ideology that underpins this social practice in contemporary America. One example of the due consideration of 'context' given in this thesis is the examination of Bush's political philosophy of 'compassionate

conservatism’ and its relevance to the discursive strategies employed by him to implement and legitimate his national service program, the USA Freedom Corps.

The second key concept is ‘recontextualisation’: this involves representations and the incorporation of one social practice (discourse) into another social practice (Van Leeuwen, 1993a: 51-59). When social practices are written or spoken about (reported, discussed, described), they become recontextualised. In this thesis, ‘recontextualisation’ informs the main analytical procedure for the study of the discursive manifestation of the ideology underpinning the practice of VCS. In each analytical chapter, I look at how the social practice of VCS is represented/recontextualised by various actors, e.g. how Bush talks about VCS in his addresses to the people. By looking at the ways in which VCS is talked about (recontextualised) by the different actors, the analyses will lead us to the third key concept, namely, ‘legitimation’. The investigation of the representations employed by the actors for the legitimation of the practice of voluntary service will help to unveil the different discourses that their representations draw upon. These are known as ‘legitimizing discourses’ (Van Leeuwen, 2007: 91-93) – the discourses used by the various actors to help legitimate the social practice of VCS. These discourses when viewed together as a whole will unpack the ideology underpinning this practice in modern-day America.

To facilitate the investigation of these three concepts, my approach builds upon the critical discourse analytic method developed by Van Leeuwen (1993a, 1993b, 1995, 1996, 2007), especially his work on the recontextualisation of social

practice, representation of social actors and action, and legitimation. I incorporate the principles of the Discourse Historical Approach (Wodak et al., 1993; Wodak, 2001a) that advocates a broader contextual perspective in examining discursive phenomena. Here I focus more specifically on Hyatt's (2005) four-category model (in which he further develops Wodak's approach).

My overarching research question is as follows: What are the main discourses used to represent the social practice of VCS in contemporary America, and how do they inform the overall ideology underpinning this practice as part of Bush's agenda for welfare reform, moral regulation and social control?

More specifically, I address the following sub-questions:

1. What are the legitimation discourses employed by Bush for the mobilisation of the American people through voluntary community service prior to the September 11 attacks? (Chapter 5)
2. What are the legitimation discourses employed by Bush for the mobilisation of the people via his national service initiative, the USA Freedom Corps, in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks? (Chapter 6)
3. What are the discourses employed by Bush to legitimate his Faith-Based Initiative as the alternative to the welfare state? (Chapter 7)

4. What are the discourses employed by other relevant actors, e.g., volunteers, teacher, national SL teacher/trainer, volunteer agencies, and government organisation, to legitimate the social practice of voluntary community service in contemporary America? (Chapter 8)
5. In view of the findings to the above research questions, what are some of the implications of these discourses on the social practice of VCS in contemporary America? (Chapter 8)

1.4 Data and Methodology

A critical approach to discourse analysis typically centres on data such as news reporting, political interviews, debates, interviews, or printed documents, etc. that embody manipulative strategies that seem neutral or natural to people (Teo, 2000). In this thesis, the two sets of empirical data include political speeches by President George W. Bush and ethnographic data from a case study of a service community.

1.4.1 Political Speeches

The core of my data is four major addresses by George W. Bush between 2001 and 2002 in which he focuses on the social practice of voluntary community service. For the purpose of this analysis, the transcripts were downloaded from the internet. They include:

- i. President Bush's Inaugural Address, January 2001
- ii. President Bush's State of the Union Address, January 2002
- iii. President Bush's Speech in Commencement at the University of Notre Dame, May 2001
- iv. President Bush's Speech to Promote Compassionate Conservatism, April 2002

1.4.2 Case Study: Rosberg High's Service Learning Community

My second set of data was collected as part of an ethnographic study¹³ of a group of voluntary practitioners known as a 'Service Learning Community'. It involves an independent college preparatory school in Oklahoma.¹⁴ An ethnographic study of the social practice of VCS here is concerned with finding out how individuals within this practice orientate themselves to their everyday practices of VCS. The data comprises interviews, observation notes, student-journals, reports, newsletters, pamphlets, news article and other relevant materials and documents. My study started at the 2003 National Service Learning Conference which I had attended

¹³ My approach for the case study is ethnographic field work whereby I was a non-participant observer. My fieldtrip included intermittent visits due to constraints of time and finance on my part, but largely it was based more on the approval and convenience of the school's board of studies. During this time I conducted in-depth interviews, observed the students, teachers, trainers, parents, non-profits, etc. in their practice of voluntary community service. I base my analysis on my field notes and relevant documents used by the actors in this social practice.

¹⁴ For purposes of anonymity, the names of the school, students and teachers have been changed, while the names of related non-profits and government organisations have been retained. In this section I have made specific references to the Corporation for National and Community Service (CNS), Service Learning (SL) Community, Learn and Serve America, and National Service Learning Conference which are described in detail in Chapter 8.

for three days (April 2003). My main contact person and gatekeeper was Mrs C, the Service Learning (SL) teacher-cum-director at Rosberg High who negotiated and provided me with access to the school community. Rosberg High is an independent school from K-12 (primary to senior high) whose students come from an affluent background (which the Rosberg community refer to as 'upper-middle class families').

Following on from the conference, I conducted a week-long ethnographic observation at Rosberg High. I observed Mrs C and her students, made notes, conducted interviews and collected samples of materials such as reflection journals by students, reports by the SL director, etc. This completed the first stage of my study. Upon my return to Cardiff, my collaboration with Mrs C continued via email, telephone conference and she sent me more materials and information about her program. I consider this the second stage of my study.

The third stage involved six weeks at Rosberg High in November/ December 2004. My field trip included a more intensive round of (following and) observing students during their service activities, attending SL meetings, and interviewing students, teachers, non-profit organisations, and community centres. I attended other state-run programs such as the Learn and Serve's teacher training programs which gave me further access to teachers and trainers affiliated to the Corporation for National and Community Service (CNS). My final trip involved attending another three-day National Service Learning Conference in April of 2005. During this time, I met, observed and talked to more SL practitioners from various parts of America.

This stage helped me view the Rosberg High SL community as representing the wider service population in America. My purpose of investigating the Rosberg High's Service Learning Community is to use it as an example of the wider service population to establish the relation between the Bush government's national service program and its ideologies, with the common practices of volunteers engaged in community service, in order to illustrate how the social practice under the patronage of the USA Freedom Corps aims for moral regulation and social control of the population.

The decision to supplement the discourse analysis of Bush's speeches with ethnographic data was dictated by the need to gain a grassroots perspective on VCS. Wodak et al., (1999b: 152) explain that in order to "understand the impact of the discourse of politicians on the public, it is necessary to investigate its reception and its recontextualization (in Bernstein's sense) in other domains of a society, for example in concrete life-worlds". Furthermore, my decision to include an ethnographic study complies with one of the main characteristics of the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA). This approach always incorporates fieldwork and ethnography to study the object under investigation as this allows us to gain an insider perspective of the phenomenon and is therefore a precondition for further analysis and theorising (Wodak, 2001a: 69).

1.5 Plan of the Thesis

The first part of the thesis deals primarily with the methodological and analytical procedures for the investigation of VCS. The analytical perspective looks

at Critical Discourse Analysis's critical stance on language and its definitions of the terms 'discourse', 'power' and 'ideology'. Fairclough's (1989) perspectives on the discursive constitution of society through rule by consent, 'orders of discourse' and the 'naturalisation of ideology as commonsense' are discussed by linking them to the concept of social control. The discussion then incorporates Foucault's (e.g. 1991a) conceptualisation of 'governmentality' that looks at how social control is achieved by modern governments through the ways in which the self and others are governed via what he calls 'technologies of government' and 'technologies of self', i.e. national programs and campaigns. The basis of his argument is that a government does not only exert power in a top-down fashion, but also aims to conduct and subjugate society through self-regulation.

The concept of 'governmentality' gives this study a framework to link my analyses of Bush's speeches (situated as the macro-level government practices of VCS) with the grassroots level practices of the people (situated as the micro-level practices of the Rosberg High Service Learning community). In this way, I am able to bring into my discussion the broader scope of the USA Freedom Corps as a national campaign, along with the various organisations that interconnect the government and its ideology to the people. This involves looking at VCS as grounded in the idea of 'community', which according to Rose (1996) is a broader style shift in contemporary governance for the administration of individuals and collective existence. This provides the analytical framework for this thesis to demonstrate how the social practice of VCS in contemporary America is a hegemonic practice of rule by consent that aims for social regulation and control.

In Chapter 3, I describe the analytic tools for the investigation of VCS. For the analysis of ‘context’, I discuss Wodak’s (2001a: 65) Discourse Historical Approach which uses a “variety of empirical data” and incorporates information about “the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which the discursive ‘events’ are embedded”. This approach considers both the synchronic and diachronic dimensions of the discursive event, and is the focus of Hyatt’s (2005) four-category model for the study of temporal context. I use Hyatt’s model to present the different contextual elements that inform my investigation of VCS. For the concept of ‘recontextualisation’, I look at how social practices are turned into discourses through discursive representation. Identity construction is discussed as part of discursive representation. The analytical tools described include Van Leeuwen’s (1995, 1996, and 2007) framework for the study of social practices, i.e. recontextualisation of social practice, representation of social actors and social action. This is combined with other tools such as the ‘us/them’ categorisation, use of pronoun ‘we’ and frame enactments for self presentation. For ‘legitimation’, Van Leeuwen’s (2007) categories for the analysis of the discourse of legitimation are explained.

Context is the main theme in Chapter 4. Here I use Hyatt’s four categories to present the various aspects of context for my investigation of VCS in contemporary America. I start with an account of the more recent events that have led to Bush’s call for service and then move onto other contextual elements prior to the call for service but which have influenced it in some way, e.g. Bush’s political philosophy – compassionate conservatism and its agenda for welfare reform – the Faith Based

Initiative. I also provide a socio-economic perspective of the service initiative by looking at its impact on poverty in America between 2000 and 2004. I refer to Marvin Olasky, Bush's right-wing Christian 'guru' whose views are reflected in Bush's addresses to the people. I end this chapter with a brief discussion about how the concept of timing, i.e. September 11, is significant to Bush's program of VCS.

In Chapter 5, I analyse Bush's call for service in his 2001 Inaugural Address. I look at his ideological positioning of the actors and the activities of the social practice of VCS. This will reveal the different discourses that he uses to legitimate VCS in what I consider as the pre-September 11 Era. My analysis will also reveal the link between these discourses and his political philosophy – 'compassionate conservatism'.

In Chapter 6, I undertake a comparative analysis by looking at his 2002 State of the Union Address which represents the post-September 11 Era. In this speech Bush makes his 'infamous' call for service and launches the USA Freedom Corps. My analysis will reveal a discursive shift in his approach from his earlier call in the 2001 speech which has been crucial in his successful engagement of the people in VCS in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks.

Whilst in Chapters 5 and 6, I look at Bush's call for service and his discursive strategies to engage the people in VCS, in Chapter 7, I examine his political philosophy of 'compassionate conservatism'. It is necessary to investigate the ideological stance of compassionate conservatism because the USA Freedom Corps is a conflation of his Faith Based program that is part of compassionate

conservatism's plans for welfare reform. I analyse two of his speeches in which he promotes compassionate conservatism to unveil the ideology of compassionate conservatism. I look at his constructions and representations of VCS, welfare and poverty to locate the main discourse/s that he uses to legitimate his programs for welfare reform to show how they draw upon the principles of moral regulation and social control.

My analyses in Chapters 5-7 focus on the various discourses from the macro-level practice of VCS. Using the concepts of 'intertextuality' (Fairclough, 1989) and 'recontextualisation' (Van Leeuwen, 1993a), in Chapter 8, I trace how the macro-level discourses permeate the local/micro-level practices of VCS. I start with a narrative of the social structure of VCS under the auspices of the USA Freedom Corps by bringing together the macro and micro level organisations/actors. My account discusses the Rosberg High Service Learning community as part of the micro level network that comprises students, teachers, parents, non-profit volunteer agencies and the service recipients. At the macro level, I introduce various government led and/or backed organisations such as the National Service Learning Trainers, the Points of Light Foundation, etc that link the USA Freedom Corps to the Rosberg community. The chapter illustrates how the social structure plays a role in determining and conditioning the discursive representations of VCS in contemporary America. In this way, it also suggests how the social practice is a hegemonic practice for moral regulation and social control.

The analyses are based on the view that discourse is both socially constitutive and socially conditioned (Fairclough, 1989). It unveils the different discourses that are used by the various actors from the macro and micro level social structure to show how the actors/organisations interface the government with society. In this way, they help to incorporate/disseminate the ideologies/discourses of the government into the practices of the people. From the Foucauldian perspective, this will show the link between the ‘technology of government’ and ‘technology of self’, and from CDA’s perspective, the analyses will illustrate how ideologies of those in power become naturalised as the shared practices of the society.

Chapter 9 summarises the main points by bringing together the research questions addressed in this thesis with the findings of the analytical chapters. It discusses the contribution of this study to the broader understanding of how a hegemonic practice comes to be legitimated, implemented, accepted and mobilised within society. It also sets out the limitations of this study to make suggestions for future research.

Manipulating people involves manipulating their minds, that is, people's beliefs, such as the knowledge, opinions and ideologies which in turn control their action. (Van Dijk, 2006)

Chapter 2

Critical Discourse Analysis and Foucault's 'Governmentality'-- Approaches for the Analysis of Ideology

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I review the literature of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Foucault's 'governmentality'. The chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part, I introduce Critical Discourse Analysis. I start in Section 2.2 with an overview of CDA's developments from Critical Linguistics (CL). In Section 2.3, the discussion centres on the concept of 'discourse'. In Section 2.4, I discuss the various interpretations of ideology to state how it is employed in this thesis. Section 2.5, brings together the concepts of discourse, ideology and social practice to show how they are linked through the concept of 'orders of discourse'. I end Part 1 in Section 2.6, with Fairclough's (1989) conceptualisation of the discursive ideological modes of power by modern governments as an alternative to material force or coercion. The discussion here looks at the commonsensical positioning of ideologies through the process of naturalisation and is linked to the idea of social control.

In Part 2, I discuss Foucault's (1991a) method for the analysis of the practices of modern governments – 'governmentality', a neologism of two terms, namely, 'government' and 'rationality', that shows the relation of the concept of social control to the exercise of power by Western governments. This is discussed in Section 2.7. In Section 2.8, I look into other perspectives of the practices of contemporary governments, e.g. liberal and neo-liberal governments, to discuss the two main concepts that are relevant to this study: 'action at a distance' and 'government through community'. In Section 2.9, I review the main points of the two approaches to the study of discourse-ideology interface in this thesis.

2.2 Critical Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

In this section, I review the literature of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) by looking at its early developments to consider what makes it a 'critical' approach to the analysis of language. The work of a group of linguists at the University of East Anglia in the late 1970s and early 80s (Fowler et. al., 1979) is seminal in the developments of Critical Linguistics (CL). Their aim was to develop a model of linguistic analysis based on Hallidayan linguistics to consider the use of language in social institutions and the relation between language, power and ideology. For this purpose they proclaimed a critical and emancipatory agenda for linguistic analysis (Blommaert, 2005: 22-23). CL and CDA refer to a theory of language (Kress, 1990: 94) but are often known as a field or an approach to discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995: 1-2; Meyer 2004: 14). CDA is the preferred term used in recent times to refer to the approach that was originally known as Critical Linguistics (CL) (Wodak,

2001: 1). In this thesis, CDA informs the overall methodological and analytic procedures for the study of the social practice of voluntary community service.

According to Fowler (1991: 5), CL enquires “into the relationships between signs, meanings and the social and historical conditions which govern the semiotic structure of discourse” by using Halliday’s systemic functional linguistics (SFL), which sees language as a social semiotic resource that people use for expressing meaning in context. The basic argument of Hallidayan linguistics is that there is a link between linguistic and social structure: the “structure of language should generally be seen as having been formed in response to the structure of the society that uses it” (Fowler and Kress, 1979: 188). A relation thus exists between the grammatical system and the way language is used with regard to the needs of its users (Halliday, 1970: 142). Fowler et al., (1979) developed a theory of language and consequently a model of linguistic analysis based on the following three assumptions of Hallidayan linguistics.

1. Language performs three interconnected metafunctions, namely, ideational, interpersonal and textual. The ideational function is the grammar for representing conceptions and knowledge about the world. This relates to experience and stands in a dialectical relation with social structure shaping and constituting social structures and processes. The interpersonal function enacts social relationships between the speaker or the text producer and other participants. The textual function is instrumental to both these functions. This grammar binds or assists in

organising linguistic elements of the ideational and interpersonal functions into a coherent and meaningful whole as a text, thus making the text lexically, grammatically and rhetorically cohesive.

2. Language therefore is a system of linguistic structures that are presented to language users to choose from, whereby the selection of the structures is done in a principled and systematic way.
3. This leads to the third assumption that the selection of such linguistic structures is specific to the meaning and content of the message and it is not arbitrary.

SFL (Halliday, 1994) posits that language users are constantly making choices from a range of options from the grammatical system. These choices signify specific meanings that are informed by their experiences, social interactions, processes, situations, etc which are consciously or unconsciously “principled and systematic” (Fowler and Kress, 1979: 188). In this sense, language is said to function in society as “a part of, as well as a consequence of, social process” (Fowler and Kress, 1979: 190). As Sarangi and Slembrouck (1996: 12) elaborate, CL “pays attention to how language both reflects and gives shape to the social – in short, how linguistic practices not only contribute to a reproduction of society, but also how they bring about a transformation of social relations”. CL situates the ‘social’ as a field of power in which the linguistic action of socially formed and positioned individuals is seen as shaped first and foremost by differences in power. In this way, all linguistic (inter)action is shaped by power differences (Fowler and Kress, 1979:

185). CL therefore views language as a social act with ideological processes that mediate relationships of power and control in society.

The investigation of language in CL involves texts as the basic unit of analysis. Texts are seen as more than just words or sentences, they are the manifestations of both linguistic and social actions. The analysis of texts involves looking at linguistic structures in their interactional and wider social contexts in order to recover the social meanings expressed by its users (Fowler et al., 1979). The ‘criticality’ of CL’s analysis is based on the view that social meanings are not made explicit in the linguistic structures and therefore need an activity of “demystification” in which such meanings are made transparent (Fowler and Kress, 1979: 186). CL aims to isolate the ideology from the texts and to show “how ideology and ideological processes are manifested as systems of linguistic characteristics and processes” (Trew, 1979: 155). As a result, the discourse of emancipation is a common theme running through CL.

Following this tradition, CDA emerged in the late 1980s led by scholars such as Fairclough (e.g. 1989, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 2000, 2003), Van Dijk (1998a, 1998b, 1998), Van Leeuwen (1995, 1996, 2005), Wodak (1989, 2001) and others, as a critical approach to language or more broadly, ‘discourse’. Van Dijk (1993: 249) sees CDA as aiming to show how linguistic-discursive practices are linked to the wider socio-political structures of power and domination. Its critical dimension involves the uncovering of covert forms of power and domination that underlie discourse (Fairclough, 1989: 55). This makes it a process of uncovering

issues of asymmetrical power relations and ideological manipulation which are largely hidden in texts and require procedures of “unveiling or demystification” (Fairclough, 1989: 141), with ‘critical’ being concerned with making visible the interconnectedness between language, power and ideology (Fairclough, 1989: 5).

To be critical in CDA is also to take a political stand against dominant and dominating modes of practices; in particular those that present themselves as being naturalized features of social existence. Critical discourse analysts therefore aim to contribute to the creation of a more equitable and just society. As Kress (1996: 15) points out, CL’s and CDA’s political intent entails

[A]ltering inequitable distributions of economic, cultural and political goods in contemporary societies. The intention has been to bring a system of excessive inequalities of power into crisis through the analysis of potent cultural objects— texts— and thereby to help in achieving a more equitable social order. The issue has thus been one of transformation, unsettling the existing order, and transforming its elements into an arrangement less harmful to some, and perhaps more beneficial to all the members of society.

This perspective of radical critique of social relations signifies CDA’s connections to critical social theory as its major theoretical ground. Critical linguists have emphasised the Marxist view that capitalist relations are embedded in ideologies and not just in economic relations. Van Dijk (1998: 2-3) explains that, for Marx, ideologies relate to manipulation, i.e. the ideas of the ruling classes are imposed upon the majority and accepted throughout society as natural and normal. Althusser’s (1984) theory of ideology as practice is a further development of Marx’s views. Althusser saw ideology as material practices entrenched in social institutions which in turn position people in ways that ascribe them as social subjects. Gramsci’s

(1971) notion of hegemony treats ideology as struggle (Fiske, 1990). Dominant ideology has to constantly overcome resistance through subtle measures which aim to gain the people's consent for the social order that it promotes. Thus, the capitalist class system and its methods of power involve a combination of 'political society' and 'civil society', with the former relating to coercion and the latter to hegemony (Van Dijk, 1998: 3).

Such views of the Marxist based Frankfurt School of critical theory and Habermas' (e.g. 1971) views oriented towards critiquing and changing society as a whole have been a major source of influence on CDA's analytic and interpretative perspectives (Wodak, 2001a). Althusser's (1984) view that ideology is an important mechanism of practice in society and Antonio Gramsci's (1971) notion of hegemony have contributed greatly to CDA's critical approach to language (Blommaert, 2005; Wodak, 2001a, 2001b). Another major inspiration to CDA is Foucault's (1980) views on discourse as a knowledge system used by those in power that functions to create the conditions for the formation of subjects through the structuring and shaping of societies. Lemke (1995: 30-1) explains that just like Halliday, Foucault also focused on social practices and the habits of activity characteristic of a community, but he (Foucault) intentionally did not focus on the individual acts of the people. His notion of the discursive formation is defined by four kinds of relations:

those which determine what sorts of discursive objects (entities, topics, processes) the discourse can construct or talk about; those that specify who can say these things to whom in what contexts; those that define the relations of meaning among statements, including how they can be organized from

texts; and finally those that tell us what the alternative kinds of discourses are that can be formed in these ways and how they can be related to each other as being considered equivalent, incompatible, etc. (Lemke, 1995: 30-1)

For Foucault, the discursive formations that tell us what people are *doing* or *saying* are systems of doing, not of doers. This implies discourse in a power/knowledge relation, whereby the discursive formations of the dominant groups involve what he calls 'subject-positions' that define individual subjects through social roles (Lemke, 1995). This aspect is discussed in more detail in the latter part of this chapter, where I look at some of the concepts used in CDA that originate from the Foucauldian perspective discussed above, e.g. 'discourse', 'orders of discourse' and 'power/knowledge', which constitute a greater part of CDA's theoretical perspective.

Following the tradition of CL's and CDA's critical dimension and political intent, this thesis analyses the linguistic structures and discursive strategies of the various actors in the social practice of voluntary community service in the light of their interactional and wider social contexts. It aims to uncover the ideological underpinnings expressed in their discourse/s to suggest the meanings they convey. This aim adheres to CDA's stand that language, and more broadly discourse, is the instrument through which ideology is transmitted, enacted and reproduced (Foucault, 1972). To further elaborate on the role of discourse in the dissemination of ideology, in the following sections I look at the two main concepts of discourse and ideology as defined within CDA and state how these concepts are employed in this thesis.

2.3 Discourse

The term ‘discourse’ is used by critical discourse analysts in different ways. Blommaert (2005: 29) suggests that Fairclough distinguishes a social theory of discourse that provides a blueprint for CDA in practice. Fairclough’s (1989: 24) use of the term ‘discourse’ takes on the relation between social practice and social structure whereby the concepts of discourse and discourse analysis are viewed through a three dimensional perspective where a discursive ‘event’ is considered a piece of *texts*, an instance of *discursive/discourse practice*, and *social practice*. Discourse as *text* (spoken or written) constitutes the linguistic features and organisation of concrete instances of discourse. The linguistic analysis of texts involves patterns in vocabulary (e.g. wording and metaphor), grammar (e.g. modality), cohesion (e.g. conjunction), text structure (e.g. turn-taking) etc (Fairclough, 1995: 57-58).

Discourse as *discursive practice* (discourse practice) relates to the processes of texts production and interpretation. Fairclough sees such processes of text production and interpretation largely in terms of specific texts (linguistic objects) that are disseminated, produced, distributed, and so forth. Viewing discourse as discursive practice involves a further feature – after analysing text at the linguistic level (grammar, vocabulary, etc.), it is then necessary to consider an analysis at the discourse practice level. Fairclough (1992: 119) defines this as intertextuality – “basically the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict,

ironically echo, and so forth”. There are two types of intertextuality, namely ‘manifest intertextuality’ and ‘constitutive intertextuality’, with the former referring to the heterogeneous constitution of texts by which specific other texts are overtly drawn upon within a text, and the latter, also known as ‘interdiscursivity’, referring to the heterogeneous constitution of texts, e.g. generic conventions, register, style, discourse types which correspond to the ‘orders of discourse’.

Fairclough argues that the intertextual properties of a text are realised in the linguistic features of the text because texts are considered ‘linguistically heterogeneous’ (Fairclough 1995a: 189). The idea of intertextuality has been closely linked to the discursive aspects of contemporary social change (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). Fairclough (1995b) sees ‘intertextual analysis’ as focusing on the borderline between text and discourse practice in the analytical framework, thereby looking at text from the perspective of discourse practice or in other words, looking at the traces of the discourse in the text (Fairclough, 1995b: 16). Intertextuality is thus a crucial part of the analysis in the thesis to show the link between the Bush government’s discourses of welfare reform and the discourses of the grassroots practitioners of VCS. ‘Intertextuality’ is discussed as part of discourse representation or recontextualisation – of how quoted references are selected, changed and contextualised (Blommaert, 2005: 29). Discursive representation is a key feature of the analytic framework adopted for the study of the social practice of VCS, and is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Discourse as *social practice* sees discourse as social action, and a part of the socio-cultural practices of society as well as its social context. As a result, discourse is socially shaped and socially constitutive (Fowler and Kress, 1979: 190). In this sense, discourse determines what can be said and done in discursive practices, but it is also organised and structured by these practices. This is said to be a dialectical relationship, whereby the saying and the doing reproduce the form of the discourse which corresponds to these practices, and what is said and done is in turn determined or conditioned by these other aspects of society, i.e. context, e.g. the immediate, institutional and societal contexts. According to Blommaert (2005: 29-30), discourse as social practice involves the ideological effects and hegemonic processes in which discourse is seen to operate. This relates to the Foucauldian concept of ‘orders of discourse’ that highlights the link between discourse, social practice and ideology, discussed in Section 2.5.

Besides Fairclough’s conceptualisation of discourse, Van Leeuwen’s interpretation is also important to this thesis. Van Leeuwen (1993b: 193) conceptualises discourse as part of “social practice ... as a form of action, as something people do to or for or with each other.” In this sense, discourses are said to be modelled by what people do; thus they are based on social practices. But these discourses are also knowledges of such practices. In the Foucauldian sense, discourse is “a way of representing social practice(s), as a form of knowledge, as a thing people say about social practice(s)” (Van Leeuwen, 1993b: 193). Building on Foucault (1980), Van Leeuwen defines discourse as:

...socially constructed knowledges of some aspect of reality. By ‘socially constructed’ I mean that these knowledges have been developed in specific contexts, and in ways in which are appropriate to the interests of social actors in these contexts, whether they are large contexts – multinational corporations – or small ones – a particular family – strongly institutionalised contexts – the press – or the relatively informal ones – dinner table conversations, etc. (Van Leeuwen, 2005b: 94; emphasis in original)

Furthermore, Van Leeuwen (2005b: 94-95) argues that the ‘same’ issue can be represented differently through differing discourses. This relates to several different ways of knowing, and thus of representing the same ‘object’ of knowledge. He refers to ‘wars’ to explain this point. There are wars and they cause much harm and damage. This means that wars do exist, but our ‘knowing’ of ‘wars’ however is socially constructed in and through discourse, therefore it is socially specific. This also means that the same individual can have different knowledges of ‘wars’ and can talk about the same ‘wars’ in several different ways, depending on the situation as well as his or her own individual interests, purposes, affiliations, etc. Van Leeuwen (2005: 95-6) describes this as the plurality of discourse – a feature of discourse that he explains by using two different discourses of the ‘heart’.

The heart can be represented as an organ via a scientific discourse or as an object to symbolise love in a poem, thus representing the heart through a discourse of love. This plurality of discourse shows elements of selection that may include or exclude certain representations in order to serve a particular perspective or purpose. This makes discourse ideological. This view is echoed by Sarangi and Slembrouck (1996: 12) that discourse is an “ideologically invested vehicle” whereby discursive practices are linked to the interest of particular social groups, and certain practices

may take on a more dominant role/position than other practices, to the extent that the former may seem natural or commonsensical to language users.

In his socio-cognitive approach, Van Dijk (1998: 6) refers to knowledge, attitudes and ideologies, as the three elements of his interpretation of the term discourse. This view draws upon the connections that exist between the social action, actor and societal structures in that participants are not merely speakers/writers and hearers/readers, but also social actors who are members of groups and cultures. For Van Dijk, “social representations, social relations and social structures are often constituted, constructed, validated, normalized, evaluated and legitimated in and by text and talk” (Van Dijk, 1998: 6). Van Dijk (1995: 30) essentially perceives discourse analysis as ideology analysis, because according to him, “ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages, such as pictures, photographs and movies” (1995: 17).

In summary, the main conceptualisations of discourse that this thesis adopts are that discourse can be looked upon as what people do to and with each other. This involves texts, processes of texts production and interpretation, and the socio-cultural elements of the practice (following Fairclough’s definition). It also follows the Foucauldian perspective of discourse as discursive representations or socially constructed knowledges of reality (as stated by Van Leeuwen). Both these perspectives view discourse as an instrument for the dissemination and reproduction of ideologies. In this study, my investigation will unfold the different discourses that

the various actors employ to represent voluntary community service and the meanings they express, e.g. Bush's use of a discourse of citizenship or war in relation to his governmental goals. This conceptualisation of the different discourses used to represent VCS is based on the perspective of discourse (discursive) representations as socially constructed knowledges that involve a plurality of discourses that inform the dominant ideologies of powerful groups, e.g. governments.

In another way, my investigation also models Fairclough's conceptualisation of discourse, in that it considers the processes of text production and interpretation and the socio-cultural practices of voluntary community service. The discursive practice of VCS involves various actors and specific activities, e.g. the social action of performing service, donating, talking about their involvement, etc. But this practice is also structured and shaped by the environment, e.g. the different organisations that interface the government and society, the cultural and political significance of voluntary service, the goals of the government, etc. Fairclough (1989: 25) describes this as the "social conditions of production, and social conditions of interpretation" that embody three levels of social organisation – "the immediate social environment in which the discourse occurs; the level of the social institution which constitutes a wider matrix for the discourse; and the level of the society as a whole".

To consider the conditions of production and interpretation (VCS as a discourse practice), and the dialectical relationship between the practice of VCS and

its social environment (VCS as a social practice), in this thesis I analyse texts (e.g. Bush speeches, interview transcripts of students, teachers and national trainers, newspaper reports, government and charity organisations' pamphlets, etc.), as a way of illustrating the involvement of the macro and micro level organisations such as the government, national and local volunteer agencies and schools to help determine and maintain what can be said and done within the practice of VCS in contemporary America. In this way, the thesis unpacks the ideology underpinning this social practice.

2.4 Ideology

CDA's central focus is to uncover the relationship between language and ideology. This thesis follows the view that there is a determinant relation between ideological processes and linguistic processes, and that ideologies are embedded in the linguistic structures (choices), e.g. vocabulary, of language users. It takes on the view that discourse is ideological because it: (i) construes and constitutes identities and relationships, (ii) represents and reproduces systems of belief and power, and (iii) establishes and maintains structures of inequality and privilege (Thurlow and Jaworski, 2006: 100). In this section, I elaborate on what ideology means. Williams (1977, cited in Fiske, 1990: 165-66) offers three definitions of the term ideology: a system of belief characteristic of a particular group or class; a system of illusionary beliefs or 'false consciousness' which can be contrasted with scientific knowledge or truth; and ideology as the general production of meanings and ideas.

As a system of beliefs, ideology is said to be determined by society and this gives shape to the attitudes and practices of individuals in society. Ideology as false consciousness is said to manifest in society as ideas and beliefs which are made to be normal and natural practices of the society. These ideas and beliefs favour powerful groups, and are mostly achieved through some form of linguistic mystification. Thus, false consciousness involves the conscious manipulation by dominant groups in society, i.e. the ruling class. It is accomplished vis-à-vis dominant ideologies. The third meaning of ideology is what Williams defines as the general production of meanings and ideas that manifest through the practices of society. Fiske (1990: 166) explains this by drawing upon Barthes' (1968) reference to myths and values that societies use to represent themselves and their societies. Myths and values are signifiers that represent society and its people but they are also ideological in themselves (Fiske, 1990).

According to Blommaert (2005: 158-159), the two most basic definitions of ideology include: (i) ideology "as a *specific* set of symbolic representations – discourses, terms, arguments, images, stereotypes -- serving a *specific* purpose, and operated by *specific* groups or actors, recognisable precisely by their usage of such ideologies"; (ii) ideology "as a social phenomenon characterising the totality of a particular social or political system, and operated by every member of that system". Blommaert (2005: 159) elaborates that the former encompasses categories such as socialism, communism and more individual 'ideologies' such as Maoism, Leninism, as well as particular positions within a political system, such as conservatism, racism, anti-Semitism. Ideology in this sense stands for partisan views and opinions

that represent the specific interests of particular actors, groups, etc. In the latter definition, “ideology stands for the ‘cultural’, ideational aspects of a particular social and political system, the grand ‘narratives’ characterising its existence, structure, and historical development”. This perspective is similar to that suggested by Gramsci (1971) whereby ideology is not located in an individual actor, or site, but rather permeates the whole fabric of societies or communities and results in normalised, naturalised views and behaviour.

In CDA, both these views are present in an overarching way, although some critical discourse analysts may favour one perspective over the other. In this sense, ideology maybe perceived in terms of cognitive/ideational phenomena as opposed to ideologies as material phenomena or processes (Blommaert, 2005: 161). Fowler (1996: 10-11) distances CL from the view of ideology as false consciousness and adopts a more neutral view:

Critical linguists have always been very careful to avoid the definition of ideology as ‘false consciousness’, making it clear that they mean something more neutral: a society’s implicit theory of what types of objects exist in their world (categorisation); of the way the world works (causation); and of the values to be assigned to objects and processes (general propositions or paradigms). These implicit beliefs constitute ‘common sense’, which provides normative base to discourse.

Hall (1996: 26) defines ideology as shared representations in society:

By ideology, I mean the mental frameworks – the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation – which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, figure out and render intelligible the way society works.

Van Dijk (1995; 1998) assumes a cognitive/ideational view of ideology. He assumes a multidisciplinary approach to consider ideologies as the foundations of the social representations shared by specific groups and the basis of their self-identity. Ideology therefore refers to 'group schemata' or group ideologies and functions at both macro and micro levels of social structure and social processes. In this way, ideology is

the 'interface' between the cognitive representations and processes underlying discourse and action, on the one hand, and the societal position and interests and social groups, on the other hand. ... As systems of principles that organize social cognitions, ideologies are assumed to control, through the minds of the members, the social reproduction of the group. Ideologies mentally represent the basic social characteristics of a group, such as their identity, tasks, goals norms, values, position, and resources. (Van Dijk, 1995: 18)

Fairclough (1989) takes on the view of ideology as material process and social phenomenon. Although texts do bear the imprint of ideological processes and structures, ideology

is a system of ideas, values and beliefs oriented to explaining a given political order, legitimizing existing hierarchies and power relations and preserving group identities. Ideology explains both the horizontal structure (the division of labor) of a society and its vertical structure (the separation of rulers and ruled), producing ideas which legitimize the latter, explaining in particular why one group is dominant and another dominated, why one person gives orders in a particular enterprise while another takes orders. Ideology is thus closely linked to Weber's concept of legitimacy, for according to Weber domination and compliance require the belief of the dominated in the legitimacy of the dominant. (Chiapello and Fairclough, 2002: 187)

Drawing upon Foucault's (1972) conceptualisation of the inter-relationship between power/knowledge, Fairclough (1989: 86) sees ideology as common beliefs

or ‘commonsense’ – practices that are imposed by those in power and are made to seem common or natural for everyone in society. In other words, ideology involves the normal perceptions we have of the world as a system, the naturalised activities that sustain, reinforce and reproduce patterns of power, i.e. unequal relations of power, domination and exploitation (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 275-276).

In summary, while there are many interpretations, CDA has not adhered to a neutral conception of ideology due to its Marxist theoretical origins. It looks upon ideology as a discourse of emancipation and as a discourse oriented towards linguistic mystification. In this sense, ideology is viewed as the means for establishing and maintaining inequalities in society by the manipulation and control of dominant groups. The term ‘ideology’ is used in two ways in this thesis. Firstly it is used as the partisan view of particular groups when reference is made to Bush’s ideology for welfare reform. In this sense, ideology relates to the dominant view of the Bush government with regard to welfare reform, e.g. the right-wing Christian principles underpinning compassionate conservatism. Part of the main argument of the thesis is that today voluntary community service under the auspices of the USA Freedom Corps is part of Bush’s policy for welfare reform, the Faith Based Initiative. Thus, specific references are made to the ‘right-wing Christian principles’ as the dominant ‘ideology’ underpinning the practice of voluntary community service in contemporary America, which has come under the auspices of the USA Freedom Corps.

Ideology is also viewed as ‘common-sense’, as practices that naturalise or normalise the dominant views of those in power. The investigation will show how the right-wing Christian ideology permeates social structures and becomes part of the practices of the people through their engagement in voluntary service. In chapters 5 and 6, for example, my purpose is to consider the process of naturalisation of this dominant ideology by Bush through his call/s for people to engage in voluntary service. This involves looking at his discursive strategies to unveil the origins of this dominant ideology, its legitimisation, implementation and naturalisation that makes it part of the shared practices of the American people. In Chapter 8, my investigation will evince traces of this dominant ideology in the discourses of the people at the grassroots level, which will illustrate how this dominant ‘ideology’ of the government comes to be naturalised as part of the practices of society via the social practice of VCS.

In the following sections, the discussions focus on ‘orders of discourse’ and the ‘naturalisation’ of ideology in society which are important features of the literature for the investigation of the USA Freedom Corps -- Bush’s national service campaign as an apparatus of government for social control. This will help explain how the social practice of voluntary service as part of Bush’s program incurs principles of hegemony and social control.

2.5 Orders of Discourse – Linking Discourse, Ideology and Social Practice

Following Foucault, Fairclough (2003: 24) defines ‘orders of discourse’ as the “linguistic elements of networks of social practices”. Text as the linguistic element of discursive practice is part of the social context or socio-cultural practice. How the text is produced and interpreted is determined by this wider socio-cultural practice in which discourse plays a crucial part. By being part of a recognisable social context, and therefore by containing ‘traces’ of this context in its surface features, the text more or less ‘tells’ the reader how it should be read. This makes the text a culturally recognisable ‘text type’ or ‘genre’. The text is therefore embedded in its social conditions but it is also linked to ideologies and power relations of social institutions and society as a whole.

According to Fairclough (1989: 30-37), ‘orders of discourse’ refers to the overall configuration of discourse practices of a society, or one of its institutions. And the dialectical relationship between discourse and social structures means that discourse is not only defined by social structures but also impacts upon such structures, therefore contributing to changes in the social structures and society. ‘Orders of discourse’ infers certain linguistic selection of exclusion and inclusion by those in power in society. This is a form of control of the linguistic as well as the social practices of the society (Fairclough, 1989: 50). The control over orders of discourse by dominant bodies, i.e. societal and institutional, is a means of

maintaining their power statuses and this symbolises ideologies which in turn legitimise existing power relations, hierarchies and social divisions.

Fairclough (1989: 38-40, emphasis in original) further explains the concepts of social structure and orders of discourse by using an example of a social institution such as the school, and here he shows how it is linked to 'orders of discourse'. The school has a social structure, a social order and an order of discourse where discourse occurs, e.g. assembly, class, etc. It also involves specific roles that the actors assume or are assigned, e.g. teachers, students; and a set of approved purposes for discourses, e.g. teaching, learning. Fairclough (1989) calls the social roles that participants assume '*subject position*', where the actors '*are what they do*'. The subject position involves what each actor is allowed, expected or required to say. So, this is an example where social structure as a particular form of discourse conventions, determines discourse. In its dialectical relation, the teachers and pupils reproduce the discourse conventions. The discourse also reproduces and determines the social structure. Thus, the order of discourse as the socially dominant ideas and conventions determine the nature of the text or linguistic event that is produced in social institutions such as the school.

In the same way, the actors in my case study are defined in terms of *what they do*, e.g. performance of service. They are defined by the specific roles they play, e.g. as service providers and recipients, teachers, or volunteer agencies, etc. They also have discourses, i.e. conventions to follow as there is a prescribed set of rules. How the student-volunteers should act, dress, speak, etc. when performing

service are stated, e.g. being on your best behaviour, dressed in collared t-shirts. A set of goals defines why the students are performing service, e.g. giving back to the society, helping the poor. So each actor has a role, e.g. the students engage in voluntary service, their teacher guides them through the pedagogy of Service Learning, the agencies engage volunteers, etc. National educators, who belong with State and Federal service organisations, provide training and resources for the teachers and students. The non-profit volunteer agencies may be backed by government funding, and they engage volunteers such as the Rosberg High students. There are also other government organisations linking the volunteers through their award schemes or scholarship programmes in recognition of their volunteer efforts, e.g. POL foundation. This exemplifies part of the overall configuration, i.e. the social structure of the practice of VCS, here exemplified through the school-based practice as part of the larger national service program, the USA Freedom Corps.

My analysis in Chapter 8 looks at the discourses of the different actors that network between the government and society. It will illustrate that through this network, the government is able to ‘forward’ its discourses (ideology) to the grassroots practitioners of service (the Rosberg SL community). The students perform service to communities who need their help. In assuming their ‘*subject positions*’ as the providers of service, they are under the guidance of teachers and teacher educators. They also are exposed to other organisations such as volunteer agencies that engage students in their community programs. But underlying this social action of performing service is the ideology of the government and its policy for welfare reform. Using the concept of ‘intertextuality’ and combined with the

notions of ‘subject positioning’, ‘social actors’ and ‘social action’ (discussed in Chapter 3) the analysis traces how the linguistic choices of the service providers are controlled, determined and reinforced by the social structure and order of discourse that underlies the social practice of VCS. The discussion then focuses specifically on the elements of social control and moral regulation that have been structured into the social practice.

2.6 Commonsensical Practices, Hegemony and the ‘Naturalisation’ of Ideology

In the previous section, my discussion considered how orders of discourse link discourse, social practice and ideology to help control the language practices (including the linguistic choices) of the society. I also briefly stated how this literature is relevant to my investigation of VCS. In this section, the discussion centres on how ‘orders of discourse’ also naturalises ideologies, determines and reinforces asymmetries and power relationships in society through the process of socialisation. According to Fairclough (1989: 30):

How discourses are structured in a given order of discourse, and how structurings change over time, are determined by changing relationships of power at the level of the social institutions or of the society. Power at these levels includes the capacity to control orders of discourse; one aspect of such control is ideological – ensuring that orders of discourse are ideologically harmonized internally or (at the societal level) with each other.

As Fairclough sees it, through socialisation people are constantly positioned in a range of subject positions in society. These subject positions are specific to discourse types, e.g. the medical genre involves asymmetries and power

relationships between the doctor and the patient. This type of positioning can continue progressively over time whereby “the social subject is constituted as a particular configuration of subject positions” (Fairclough, 1989: 102-106). But there is a general acceptance of this power relation because “people are not conscious of being socially positioned as subjects, and standardly see their own subjective identities as somehow standing outside and prior to society”. In this sense, the subject position is liable to be naturalised or assumed as commonsense.

The naturalisation of interactional routines such as the medical discourse is “an effective way of constraining the social relations which are enacted in discourse and of constraining in the longer term a society’s system of social relationships” (Fairclough, 1989: 39). Fairclough adds that the social subjects are constrained to function within the subject position set up by the discourse type, but it is through such constraints that they act as social agents. This does not however infer that they are passive, because as ‘composite personalities’ (Gramsci, 1971) they are creative; through the constraints, they are also created (Fairclough, 1989: 104-5). But “the naturalisation of subject positions self-evidently constrains subjects, and in the longer term both contributes to the socialisation of persons and to the delimitation of the ‘stock’ of social identities in a given institution or society” (Fairclough, 1989: 106-107). This point links ideology to subject positioning, whereby how people are positioned as subjects infers an element of control on the part of those with agency. According to Wodak (1996: 18), language is not powerful on its own but becomes so when used by those in power. Unequal relations of power, domination and exploitation are all products of the ideologies of the powerful people (Wodak, 1989:

xv). Discursive practices thus help produce and maintain relations of power that are achieved through the ways social actors are positioned and ideologies are represented.

This perspective of subject positioning is a key aspect in my analyses of the discourses of VCS by the various actors. In my analyses of Bush's speeches in Chapters 5 and 6, I look at how he positions different actors in his call to them to engage in voluntary service. Despite his main purpose of gaining the support of people for his agenda in both speeches, Bush's reference to them is quite different. How he positions people is dependent on the discourses he employs, which plays a key role in the naturalisation of his ideology. In his role as president, he exercises his authority by stating who volunteers are and what their tasks should be. In this way, he also determines their collective identities through the tasks assigned to them, as citizens, Americans, etc. The collective identity in turn determines people's relationship with each other. This is just one example of 'subject positioning' investigated in this thesis. In Chapter 8, my analyses look at the representations of the various actors in the social practice, to locate how the different actors position each other and how the interactional routines in this social practice lead to social hierarchies, asymmetries, and construct and reinforce specific identities, e.g. elite identities. Fairclough (1989: 104-5) adopts Foucault's (1983a) view that the speaker or writer is a product of her words. This links subject positioning to the notion of identity construction which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Besides subject positioning and the socialisation process for the naturalisation of asymmetries and relations of power as well as the ideologies of powerful groups, Fairclough also elaborates on hegemony as the practices of those in power in modern societies as an alternative to force and coercion. Hegemony involves

relations of domination based upon consent rather than coercion, involving the naturalisation of practices and their social relations as well as relations between practices, as matters of common sense -- hence the concept of hegemony emphasizes the importance of ideology in achieving and maintaining relations of domination. (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999: 24)

Ideologies therefore are crucial in the legitimization of hegemony. In the Gramscian (1971) view, politics is seen as a struggle for hegemony against resistance -- a particular way of conceptualising power which amongst other things emphasises how power depends upon achieving consent or at least acquiescence rather than just having the resources to use force. The importance of ideology is in sustaining these relations of power. From a Foucauldian tradition, Fairclough (1989: 33-36) suggests a special relationship between ideology and the exercise of power by consent in contemporary societies which explains how social control is achieved by neo-liberal governments.

Social control is increasingly practiced through consent. The means by which this is achieved is through integrating people into what he calls 'apparatuses of control by consent' that people, e.g. consumers, come to be a part of. This is a common way of maintaining capitalist power and a means of controlling the population. Through such apparatuses, political power is exercised by creating a

network of institutions such as the government, police force, education establishments, etc. that draw upon the intended ideologies of the capitalist class. However, the people in power in these institutions such as the local education authorities may not have direct links with the capitalist class, but they do form an alliance with them by drawing upon the ideologies of the capitalist class without fully being aware of doing so; and in this way, they legitimise existing power relations in a direct or indirect way.

Fairclough's (1992; 1989) combined use of Foucault's thoughts on Marxian perception of power can be said to be the most comprehensive attempt to define relations of power in society. He states that while ideological practices can often be shown to originate in the dominant bloc, through careful manipulation and engineering on the part of the dominant groups, the ideologies manifest in our daily lives as common sense (Fairclough, 1989: 33-36). When an ideology becomes accepted as natural and commonsensical, it is what Gramsci (1971) refers to as 'hegemony'. But what is considered as commonsensical depends on those who have power and domination in society.

As Fairclough (1989: 33-36) puts it, ideology becomes common sense when it achieves its objective and when its ideological stance becomes disguised in the everyday practices of the people. Some instances of ideologies in our most basic practices include education, news etc. whereby 'social control through consent' has become a main feature of contemporary discourse of social control. This is achieved through the blurring of certain "markers of authority and power" and is evident in

orders of discourse as diverse as advertising, education and government bureaucracy etc.

Ideologies are closely related to power, because the nature of the ideological assumptions are embedded in particular conventions, and so the nature of those conventions, depends on the power relations which underlie the conventions; and because they are a means of legitimizing existing social relations and differences of power, simply through the recurrence of ordinary, familiar ways of behaving which take these relations and power differences for granted. Ideologies are closely related to language, because using language is the commonest form of social behaviour, and the form of social behaviour where we rely most on 'common-sense' assumptions. (Fairclough, 1989: 2)

Fairclough (1989: 90-92) explains another dimension of the ideological workings of dominant groups. When a particular ideology is situated as the main view and established and maintained discursively, it takes on the role of what he calls a 'dominant discourse type'. And when the dominant discourse type becomes naturalised or part of the commonsensical practice of the people, it loses its ideological feature. In this way, the discourse type then appears to be of a neutral stance. This is called the 'naturalisation of a discourse type'. By situating it as neutral within that social practice, the discourse positions its actors as if they are in a neutral relationship – without power struggles and asymmetries. This is the key feature of the practice of ideologies by powerful groups in contemporary societies, which Fairclough (1989: 107-108) refers to as the "emptying of ideological content of discourses". In other words ideology becomes subsumed in discursive practices as if it does not exist, therefore it is disguised as something that it is not (Fairclough, 1989: 91-92). Fairclough argues that this process is ideological in itself, and

therefore it is important to scrutinise the explanations that are used by powerful people.

Acknowledging the phenomenon of naturalization is tantamount to insisting upon a distinction between the superficial common-sense *appearances* of discourse and its underlying *essence*. Explanations should be seen as *rationalizations* which cannot be taken at face value but are themselves in need of explanation. We can see rationalizations as part and parcel of naturalization: together with the generation of common-sense discourse practices comes the generation of common-sense rationalization of such practices, which serve to *legitimize* them. (Fairclough, 1989: 92)

In this section, I have reviewed Fairclough's views of the practices of capitalist power and its means of incorporating its ideology into the practices of the society. This is achieved through a process of naturalisation, whereby ideologies are embedded into the everyday practices such as schools, police, etc, which act as apparatuses of governments. These apparatuses help the government achieve its goals/aims for control of the population. These perspectives are based on Foucault's (1991a) conceptualisation of the practices of modern government – of how modern governments exercise power through its means for social control and regulation. In the next section, I start with Part 2 of this chapter by linking the discussion to Foucault's 'governmentality' approach which explains in more detail how social control is increasingly achieved by modern governments.

2.7 'Governmentality' and Social Control

Foucault's (1973, 1977, 1972, 1980) work has been a major influence in the understanding of social control in the capitalist society – of how modern governments have managed moral engineering through a variety of disciplinary

techniques for the shaping of the self. Foucault wrote on psychiatry, medicine, and the human sickness to locate elements of social control in disciplinary practices whereby power is not exercised through force, but said to permeate all aspects of society, harnessing itself to regulate the behaviour of individuals. In 'Discipline and Punish' (1977), for example, Foucault applies this notion of power to trace the rise of the prison system in France and the rise of other coercive institutions such as monasteries, the army, mental asylums, and other technologies of government as mechanisms of social control. His work on governmentality (1991a, 1991b) and liberal doctrines of power have come to the fore of political theory as they have been expanded upon by adherents such as Rose, Miller, Dean, Collin, Lemke and others (Katz and Green 2002).

Foucault's views have also inspired many studies in various disciplines such as education, social science, historical investigations and have produced a diverse and influential body of work, e.g. Rose (1990), Dean (1994), McLeod (2001). Recent social theory has also benefited greatly from Foucault's concern with the constitution of the subject in power relations, specifically in relation to the issue of agency and identity. In the field of education, for example, Foucault's 'governmentality' concept has been used to uncover some truths about contemporary educational practices and discourses, i.e. the schooling systems, subjectification, power and agency, politics and social action (McLeod, 2001: 96-97) where his power/knowledge relationship has been used to consider contemporary debates about educational scholarship, e.g. systems of reasoning deployed in educational practices, policy orientations, education and social changes etc (Popkewitz and

Brennan, 1998: xiv-xv). The governmentality literature has been used to investigate how personal conduct, freedom, choice and responsibility have all been refigured as the new territory of modern governments (e.g. Cruickshank, 1996; Rimke, 2002). Some researchers have also revisited Foucault's 'pastoral power' and 'government as the conduct of conduct' in their illustrations of the politics of citizenry, selfhood and welfare (Katz and Green, 2002: 151-153).

Much of Foucault's views can be found in CDA's conceptualisation of discourse and power. In the previous section, the discussion included some aspects of Foucault's views that have been used by Fairclough (1989) to explain how the ideology of governments becomes naturalised in society. Critical discourse analysts have also used Foucault's views on social control. For example, Sarangi and Slembrouck (1996) refer to Foucault in their study of the relation between language, bureaucracy and social control. Their investigation looks at how social control in domains such as education, taxation, welfare provisions and banking are managed. For Sarangi and Slembrouck (1996: 4), looking at bureaucratic practices involves "dealing with the scrutiny of the multiple relationships between social subjects, and the state institutions which regulate, through decision making and legitimation procedures, the distribution of rights, obligations, and the organisation of social life in various areas of activity". In a similar fashion, this thesis traces elements of social control that are present in the practices of voluntary community service under the patronage of Bush's national service campaign, the USA Freedom Corps. For this purpose, I review Foucault's (1991a: 88) approach to the analysis of the practices of modern government, which he called 'governmentality' that looks at capitalist

power and its means for incorporating self-regulating modes for the control of the population.

‘Governmentality’ defines what is meant today by the government of the state, i.e. what we know to be the political form of government. According to Foucault, government is a problematising activity because the ideals of government are linked to the problems they seek to address, solve, rectify or cure (Rose and Miller, 1992: 181). And the problematics that the modern government needs to address in general include critical questions on “how to govern oneself, how to be governed, how to govern others, by whom the people will accept being governed, how to become the best possible governor” (Foucault, 1991a: 87). To this end, he developed the notion of ‘governmentality’, a neologism that combines the terms ‘government’ and ‘rationality’, to look at the state in relation to its techniques of domination and exercise of power on the one hand, and how the population is constituted as subjects on the other (Lemke 2001a: 2). In this way, it was also conceptualised as a way to consider the link between the state and the society via its means of governing the population.

2.7.1 ‘Government’

Foucault uses the term ‘government’ as the ‘conduct of conduct’ (Gordon, 1991; Hindess, 1996) in reference to the ways in which others, as well as the self, are governed. Thus, ‘government’ does not refer to the governing body of the state (the state apparatus), but to the manifold techniques or activities in which the actions

and behaviour of individuals are regulated, shaped or guided and steered in the desired direction (Gordon, 1991: 2; Lemke, 2001b: 191). To 'govern' therefore is to "structure the possible field of action of others" while 'government' is the act of governing the population and subjects (Foucault, 1983a: 221). This describes Foucault's approach of government as 'governing others' and 'governing the self' (Lemke, 2001b: 191).

A chief concern for Foucault was to analyse the genealogy of the subject, of how people are turned into subjects by the modern government. There are two meanings to the term 'subject': first as subject to someone else by control and dependence; and as tied to one's own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both these meanings suggest the kind of power which subjugates and manages to make the individuals subject to themselves (Foucault, 1988a: 18-19). Thus, he considered not only the techniques of the state that aims to make people subjects, but also the self regulatory modes that are structured and implemented by government. This relates to the constitution of the subject and the formation of the state, which Foucault defined as the 'technologies of the self' and 'technologies of domination', respectively (Lemke, 2001: 2). Technologies or techniques of the self refer to the ways that

permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality. (Foucault, 1988b: 18-19)

Technologies of domination determine the conduct of individuals, by making them the object of the domination, or in other words, by subjectifying them. There is a co-relation in the interaction between the two types of techniques involved: the techniques of the self are integrated into structures of coercion and domination, whereby the “contact point where the individuals are driven by others is tied to the way they conduct themselves” (Foucault, 1988b: 18-19): ‘Government’, thus, involves an interconnectedness between the principles of political action and those of personal conduct, making the activity of government interdependent with the government of the self (Foucault in Gordon, 1991: 12). Government as the ‘conduct of conduct’ infers that the modern sovereign state and the modern autonomous individual co-determine each other’s emergence (Lemke, 2001: 3) because governing people is not about force but about the way the techniques of the state enable the self to be constructed or modified by himself or herself (Foucault, 1993: 203-204).

2.7.2 ‘Rationality’

The term ‘rationality’ appears as ‘rationality of government’ and is used by Foucault almost interchangeably with ‘art of government’ (Gordon, 1991; Lemke, 2001a, 2001b). While ‘government’ refers to the ‘conduct of conduct’ and as an activity, ‘rationality of government’ deals with ways of knowing what that practice consists in; it involves the knowledge of knowing how to govern. It centres on how power is planned and structured on the one hand, and the ways in which it is deployed, i.e. programmes, networks, people, institutions, etc. on the other. Gordon

(1991: 10) explains that for Foucault (1991a) the real basis of the state's wealth and power "lies in the population, in the strength and productivity of all and each". The aim of the 'rationality of government' in modern times is to develop individual lives in order to foster the strength of the state.

This is achieved by involving many kinds of people such as teachers, heads of families, etc. to enable a plurality of forms of government to exist and operate within the sphere of the state. The 'rationality of government' structures different kinds of technologies that would enable the state to coordinate all these various forms of government into some kind of complementary network of ruling apparatuses that link the state to the society by establishing a continuity "in both an upwards and a downwards direction" (Foucault, 1991a: 91). However, while these governing bodies interweave within the state and society, the state remains as the most important form of governing or power. In this way, all forms of authority (government) come under state power.

'Rationalities' therefore are embedded in the practices of government. For Foucault, any analysis of power must take into account such practices of government in relation to their rationalities because rationalities help structure and give form to 'technologies of government' (1991b: 75). Triantafillou explains that technologies of government

denote all those manifold systems, procedures, devices and methods that seek to shape the conduct of individuals and groups, such as types of schooling, systems of income support, methods of audit, devices for the organization of work etc. These technologies are informed by elements of thoughts, reflections and strategic calculations about how to govern properly,

efficiently and effectively, i.e. one or more *governmental rationalities*. (Triantafillou, 2004: 4-5)

Foucault (199b: 81) uses the terms ‘programmes of conduct’ or ‘governmental apparatuses’, or just ‘programs’ when discussing technologies of government. Using the penitentiary system as an example to study the disciplinary techniques, he points out that modern societies can be understood only by reconstructing certain ‘techniques of power’, or of ‘power/knowledge’ that is designed to observe, monitor, shape and control the behaviour of individuals situated within a range of social and economic institutions (Gordon, 1991: 3-4).

In sum, ‘governmentality’ refers not only to political measures or to the management of states, rather it also embodies the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups, namely of children, communities, families, the sick, etc. might be structured and directed. And subjectification does not only cover the legitimately considered forms of political and economic subjection, it also includes the planned and calculated modes of action meant to act upon the action of other people (Foucault, 1983a: 221).

2.7.3 ‘Governmentality’ and Power

Foucault (1983a: 210) holds that there is a great misconception about the power of the state in the Western society as too much significance is given to the state and its power, as either one that confronts and dominates us, or in another way as one that reduces the state to a number of social and economic functions (Foucault, 1991a: 102-103). Lemke sees Foucault’s explanation of power as guidance – of

governing the forms of self-government while structuring and shaping the fields of action of subjects. Power as guidance signifies that coercion and consensus are reformulated as a means of government, whereby they are 'elements' or 'instruments' rather than the 'foundation' or the 'source' of power relationships (Lemke, 2001a: 4).

Foucault argues that power is exercised only over free subjects and is addressed to individuals who are free to act in one way or another. Freedom thus is defined as providing individuals or collective subjects with choices or "a field of possibilities in which several ways of behaving, several reactions and diverse comportments may be realized" (Gordon, 1991: 5). While power is anything that conditions, influences or shapes the subjectivity of the subjects, domination is the application of such power (Foucault, 1988b: 19).

Domination is a particular type of power relationship that is hierarchical, fixed and difficult to reverse. It also denotes asymmetrical relations of power in which the subordinated persons have little space for choices or decisions because their "margin of liberty is extremely limited" (Lemke, 2001a: 5-6). With the state now being the most important form of power in Western societies, domination is very much rooted in the exercise of power by the modern state. All other forms of power relations must refer to the state, because they have come more and more under state control. In this way, power relations have become "progressively governmentalized" for the reason that they have been "elaborated, rationalized and centralized in the form of, or under the auspices of, state institutions" (Foucault,

1983a: 224). Thus, power relations are rooted in the system of social network, with the exercise of power being a carefully engineered mode of action upon the action of others.

This form of power has surpassed other forms because the modern Western state has incorporated an old power technique which has its roots in Christian practices and institutions, known as the ‘pastoral power’, which over time has spread into a multitude of institutions (Foucault, 1983a: 212). The pastoral state assures salvation to individuals, commands sacrifice for the good of all, cares not just for the community but every individual. But most importantly, it redefines the practices of the state by applying “a knowledge of the conscience and an ability to direct it” (Foucault, 1983a: 213-214). According to Foucault, the state had always been envisioned as a form of power that ignores individuals while focusing on totality. But the modern state as ‘pastoral power’ is able to integrate the individuals in a sophisticated manner so that individuality can be shaped in a new way and “submitted to a set of very specific pattern”, thus making the state’s power both an ‘individualizing’ and ‘totalizing’ form of power.

Foucault considers this as a main contributing factor for the state’s strengths (1983a: 214). As pastoral power, the objectives of the modern state also see changes – “the word salvation takes on different meanings: health, well-being (that is sufficient wealth, standard of living), security, protection against accidents.” He states that a series of “worldly aims” take the place of the religious aims of the pastoral pastorate. It also involves a whole series of ‘others’, i.e. this form of power

is exerted sometimes by the state apparatus and at other times by public institutions (e.g. police) or “by private ventures, welfare societies, benefactors and generally by philanthropists”. As agents of the pastoral power, these institutions focus around two roles: “one globalizing and quantitative, concerning the population; the other, analytical, concerning the individual” (Foucault, 1983a: 215). This distinction between the Christian pastorate as a spiritual government of the souls offering salvation in another world and the state as a political government ensuring welfare in this world, are all part of Foucault’s analysis to illustrate the changing practices of government in its exercise of power, which he has called the technologies of government (Lemke, 2001a: 5).

The pastoral power infers a shift in governmental practices in western societies towards a totalising and individualising form of political power. Government, thus, is about managing the population. The population as the object for governing is determined through laws or programs of health, morality, productivity and reproductivity and all under the state supervision (Katz and Green, 2000: 152). According to Foucault, population becomes the object that government takes into account in all its practices but the population remains unaware of what is being done to it. The ends of government reside in those it manages and directs through processes or instruments of governmental technologies, in direct ways such as large scale campaigns, or through more subtle means by directing people to certain activities, e.g. family planning, etc. In this manner, government aspires to achieve such ends regardless of whether the ends in themselves are the needs of the population, and “this is the new target and the fundamental instrument of the

government of the population: the birth of a new art, or at any rate of a range of absolutely new tactics and techniques” (Foucault, 1991a: 100).

2.8 Technologies of Contemporary Governments for the Formation of Alliance between State and Society

In the previous section, my discussion centred on Foucault’s views of the practices of modern government. He used the concept of ‘governmentality’ to explain that government is not just about ruling the state, but also about regulating the behaviour, attitudes, etc. of people. For this purpose, a new form of government is said to have surfaced over the years in the western societies, one that uses various bodies/organisations in society, e.g. schools, police to regulate the conduct of people. This view is further expanded by Rose and Miller (1992: 174) who elaborate the practices of liberal and neo-liberal governments.

Political power is exercised by advanced liberal governments through a shifting of alliance between authorities through projects that govern various aspects of the economic activities, social life and individual conduct of people. Central to such practices of modern government is a proliferation of a series of techniques of government in terms of its projects and plans that involve a whole range of activities to ensure social control, engineer strategic management of diverse aspects of conduct through various local agents, e.g. schools, etc. (Cohen in Rose and Miller, 1992: 175). Cohen adds that power for current governments is not about imposing constraints upon citizens but more of ‘making up’ citizens capable of bearing a kind of ‘regulated freedom’ where ‘personal autonomy’ becomes a key term in the

exercise of power, especially since most individuals are not just merely subjects but play a part in its procedures (Rose and Miller, 1992: 175).

Foucault's notion of governmental technologies as part of the practices of neo-liberal governments is exemplified in the strategies or techniques that are deployed by these governments in establishing a multitude of connections between authorities and the activities of individuals and groups. According to Rose and Miller (1992: 183), these technologies enable modern governments to represent and give effect to their governmental ambitions by involving "a complex assemblage of diverse forces", e.g. legal, architectural professionals; therefore "aspects of the decision and actions of individuals, groups and organizations and populations come to be understood and regulated in relation to authoritative criteria." In the rest of this section, I discuss two concepts dubbed as the liberal and neo-liberal governments' methods for the administration of individual and collective existence: 'action at a distance' (Rose and Miller, 1992) and 'governance through community' (1996). Both these concepts explain how instead of a top-down, centralised and patronising government, the practices of modern governments involve a shift towards self-regulating bodies that link governments with society.

One example of a study that looks at the use of the concept of 'community' is Lazar's (2003) investigation of Singapore's National Courtesy Campaigns. In this study, Lazar situates the courtesy campaign as a technology of neo-liberal governments, and illustrates how this displays a shift in the style of contemporary governance in Singapore. The study shows how this style shift is manifested and

impacts on the kinds of social relations and identities that are constructed. It also illustrates the implications of this mode of governance on the regulation of the Singapore population. According to Lazar (2003: 219), the courtesy campaign is an organised and sustained communicational strategy of social engineering that aims for the regulation and control of the population, as it is part of the Singapore government's means to achieve its goals for the fashioning of the desired citizenry and the Singaporean subject.

In a similar fashion, this thesis explores the practice of volunteerism under the auspices of the USA Freedom Corps, which is Bush's national service program. It unpacks the ideology of the government for welfare reform and how this is implemented through the practice of VCS. It will show how 'community' is used as collective action to fight poverty, unemployment, and other social issues as part of Bush's program for welfare reform that moves away from the Welfare State. The analyses will illustrate that Bush's collective resolve, which aims for social control and moral regulation, displays this style shift, with 'community' as a new territory of government for the administration of individuals and collective existence. In this sense, both the concepts of 'action at a distance' and 'governance through community' discussed in the following subsections, help to explain the rationale underlying Bush's programs of conduct (USA Freedom Corps and Faith Based Agenda) and their link to the issue of welfare state.

2.8.1 Governing at a Distance/ Action at a Distance

Foucault put forth the view that power is exercised through networks, and power relations are rooted in the system of social network in which individuals are not just situated but actually play a role in the exercise of power (1988a: 24). The modern state today involves such elaborate networks of relations, formed between state and non-state institutions which blur the distinction between the territory of the state and that of society. Its practices have come to depend more and more on the self-steering capacities of individuals in the form of activism, participation and empowerment. This allows the state to function through a broader scope via its political form and the self-regulation of individuals (Triantafillou, 2004: 11-12).

Such practices, argues Triantafillou, are based on the one hand on the idea of agency that “seeks to bring forth the voice and opinion of citizens, such as opinion polls, surveys, public hearings, focus groups, citizens panels, workshops with groups of citizens” with the aim of enabling and inducing “citizens to be active and participate more directly in the decision- making processes, such as empowerment projects, school boards, community centres, consensus conferences, and citizens’ juries”; while on the other hand this is centred around the ideas of outsourcing and delegation of, for example, “various social services and tasks to private enterprises and voluntary organizations” that aim to “enhance efficiency, responsibility or the possibilities of individual choice”. This has led to a “re-articulation and creation of new linkages between private and public organizations” while enhancing the

“legitimacy of policy formations and/or the efficiency of policy outcomes”

(Triantafillou, 2004: 11-12).

In this fashion liberal and neo-liberal doctrines work along the lines of rationalities and technologies of government that aim to govern the actions of others from a distance. Rose and Miller have combined Foucault’s ideas with those of Latour’s ‘action at a distance’ (Rose and Miller, 1992) to describe the key characteristic of modern governments that refers to what seems like less control by the authorities while at the same time seeking to administer, programme and shape the actions of the population (Burchell, 1996: 21-30, see also 1993). According to Rose and Miller (1992: 180-181), liberal governments work “outside a domain of politics” and manage this without “destroying its existence and its autonomy” by operating through the activities and calculations of a proliferation of independent agents including philanthropists, doctors, parents, social workers, etc. And this is done through an alliance forged between “political strategies and activities of these authorities” on the one hand, and between these authorities and free citizens “in attempts to modulate events, decisions and actions in the economy, the family, the private firm, the conduct of the individual person”, on the other.

In a similar vein, neo-liberal doctrines also work through governmental technologies that seek to “make markets, factories, public and private organizations govern themselves according to norms of efficiency, accountability, transparency, and to make individuals govern themselves according to norms of civility, wealth and well-being” (Rose and Miller 1992; see also Rose 1999). Another important

feature of these technologies is the way freedom and 'subjectivity' is embodied in these practices. Liberalism operates through projects that rely on the principles of mutual relations between citizens and society. In this context, the "state" does not act as the "inspirer of the programme" or the "beneficiary", and state intervention is somewhat downplayed while more prominence is given to poverty, health, crime etc. as problems that require some measure of collective response. And in relation to this, "political authorities play a variety of roles" which has enabled such political forces to "utilize, instrumentalize and mobilize techniques and agents other than those of 'the State' in order to 'govern at a distance'" (Rose and Miller, 1992: 181).

Rose and Miller add that, the freedom and subjectivity of citizens "become an ally and not a threat to the orderly government of a polity and society". Liberal and neo-liberal governments establish regulatory or negotiating bodies and make it seem as though there is less authority from the state and more autonomy for the people (Rose and Miller, 1992: 183-184). Individuals engage in their individuality but this is done through provisions and strategies made by the government (Gordon, 1991: 48). And one feature of such strategies is what Rose (1996) calls 'governance through community'.

2.8.2 Government through Community

A major concern of modern governments has been the issue of the welfare state. In recent times the welfare state has seen many transformations and the way in which the modern government has dealt with this has been through technologies that

seek to forge alliances between state and society (Rose, 1996: 330-333). With the privatisation of public utilities and marketisation of health services, social insurance, pension schemes, etc., government technologies now seek to “govern without governing” through regulated choices made by autonomous and free individuals within their context. This is managed by advocating “personal responsibilities of individuals, their families combined with their commitments to their communities for their own future well-being and upon their obligation to take active steps to secure this” (Rose 1996: 327-328; see also Rose 1999).

Rose posits that in recent times ‘community’ has become a key term in political discourse. While the term has been present in political discourse for decades, it has now become ‘governmentalised’ because it has been made more technical. We now see community as “something programmed by Community Development Programmes, developed by Community Development Officers, policed by Community Police, guarded by Community Safety Programmes” (Rose, 1996: 331). In this fashion, ‘community’, adds Rose, is defined as the new territory of government “for the administration of individual and collective existence, a new plane or surface upon which micro-moral relations among persons are conceptualized and administered” (Rose, 1996: 328).

Governments embody ‘community’ in various ways by problematising issues as needing some kind of collective resolve, based primarily on features of communities and their strengths, cultures and pathologies. Programmes and strategies are thus shaped to address such problems by acting upon the dynamics of

communities while an imagined territory is configured to be the target for such collective action or strategies. As Rose (1996: 334) sees it, this extends the specification of the subjects of government as individuals and as “subjects of allegiance to a particular set of community values, beliefs and commitments”. ‘Government through community’ thus is a means of modern governments that uses relations of allegiance and responsibility between individuals and society in service projects. But it aims for mobilisation, regulation and reform of the people (Rose, 1996).

In this manner, the role of subjects sees many transformations. The subject of government within such contexts is conceived as active individuals or participants made capable through their personal responsibilities and obligation to one’s family, neighbourhood, community and nation. Rather than a relation mediated by the state based on obligation between citizen and society, the subject in this way is situated in a network of relations through their social roles that is based on allegiance and responsibility. Besides, the subject is also looked upon as moral individuals through bonds of obligation and responsibilities for personal conduct. ‘Conduct’ is retrieved from a social order of determination into an ethical perception that makes individuals

both self responsible and subject to certain emotional bonds of affinity to a circumscribed ‘network’ of other individuals – unified by family, by locality, by moral commitment to environmental protection or animal welfare. (Rose, 1996: 334)

‘Community’ which is based on relations of mutual obligation and moral order has now become a central philosophy of neo-liberal governments’

technologies for managing the conduct of the population and in achieving its ambitions (Rose, 1996: 335). These technologies enable the neo-liberal state to not only retain its traditional role but to take on new tasks and functions through both direct intervention by means of empowerment and 'responsibilization' of the people and indirectly by leading and controlling them without at the same time being responsible for them. Lemke (2001b: 201) suggests that such a strategy that renders individual subjects 'responsible' (and also collectives, such as families, associations, etc.) entails shifting responsibility for social risks such as illness, unemployment, poverty, etc., and for life in society into the domain for which the individual is responsible and transforming it into a problem of 'self-care'. In addition, through its increasing call for personal responsibility and 'self-care', neo-liberalism is a political rationality that links this call with a reduction in welfare state services and security (Lemke, 2001b: 203).

This method of 'self-care' works on the principles of free will and actions based on individual decisions and actors as rational thinkers, which makes the consequences of the actions to be borne solely by the subject alone. And this has led to social responsibility becoming more of a matter of personal provisions (Rose and Miller, 1992) and puts a greater demand on the individuals. This participation comes with a 'price-tag' in that the individuals themselves have to assume responsibility for these activities together with whatever failures that arise as outcomes of such activities (Burchell, 1993).

2.9 Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter, I have looked at the two main frameworks of CDA and governmentality. In the first part, I outlined the principles of critical discourse analysis and its approach to the analysis of discourse. I previewed its origins and link to Critical Linguistics. The literature included CDA's use of the terms 'discourse' and 'ideology' to continue with its description of how the ideology of powerful groups, i.e. capitalist class, comes to be accepted as part of the practices of society, through manipulation, linguistic mystification, and other strategic means of discursive representations that favour powerful groups. This perspective is exemplified in Van Dijk's (2006) quote used as the epigraph for this chapter. CDA's conceptualisation of discourse and ideology shows the relationship between social practice and discourse, as well as ideology and discourse. This informs the methodological and analytical procedures for this thesis.

Part 1 of the chapter ended with Fairclough's views on capitalist practices for the management of population through regulation and control. In part 2, the concept of social control is further explained through reference to Foucault's 'governmentality' approach that looks at the practices of modern governments and its means for control. 'Governmentality' proposes a new kind of practice by capitalist societies that uses disciplinary techniques for managing the population. The population is governed via techniques that not only enable the government to exercise its power, but also through the engineering of various self-regulating features, manage to regulate, shape and steer the actions and behaviour of the people

in the desired direction. The element of control and regulation is clarified further through the concepts of 'action at a distance' and 'governance through community'. As we shall see, both these concepts help to situate Bush's national campaign as a program of conduct that uses the concept of 'community' to create relations of allegiance and responsibility between individuals and society through voluntary service projects. This will also demonstrate that underlying the practice is the government's aims for mobilisation, regulation and reform of the people.

CDA's approach to the investigation of ideology, social inequalities and power in society, and Foucault's views on governmentality have produced a diverse and influential body of work (e.g. Fairclough, 1989; Van Dijk 1998; Van Leeuwen, 1993; Katz and Green, 2002; Lemke, 2001a & b; Rose and Miller, 1996, etc) which evince their popularity in academic discourse today. But such views are not celebrated without criticisms. I would like to end this chapter by acknowledging some of the criticisms that have surfaced over the years. The critique of CDA stems from its stand as a critical study of language which some scholars say leads to biases in interpretation and analyses (Blommaert, 2005). The most prominent critique, among others, has been by Widdowson (1995, 1996, etc.) who has argued that CDA's distinctions between concepts have led to vagueness in its analytical and methodological procedures. Widdowson uses the example of Fairclough's analyses to show how he (Fairclough) fails to consider alternative ways of interpreting the texts he analyses, thus leading to biased interpretations. Such critique has also led to others who have accused critical discourse analysts of 'reading' texts based on their

own prejudices, and political biases (also see Hammersley, 1997; Verschueren, 2001; Blommaert, 2005).

Foucault's views have also seen criticisms in recent days. According to Katz and Green (2002: 150), Foucault's perspective on liberalism has been criticised for being unoriginal and incomplete, as similar thoughts are said to exist in the writings of Weber, Horkheimer or Adorno. They add that he has also been criticised for overlooking ongoing social and political science debates about the state itself. Theorists have argued that Foucault in his attentiveness to power relations, techniques and practices has failed to address the larger global issues of politics, especially with regard to the relations between state and society (Gordon, 1991: 4). O' Malley et al., (1997) explain that Foucault's representation of the society as a network of relations of power that subjugates through domination, has been criticised for precluding the possibility for meaningful individual freedom, whereby resistance and struggle seem to be absent from his writings. In this sense, Foucault's views have been criticised for placing too much emphasis on subjectivity while neglecting the issue of agency (cited in Katz and Green, 2002: 154).

In this chapter, I have stated the relevant literature for the methodological and analytical procedures for this thesis. In the next chapter, I describe the analytical approach adopted. This approach is informed by CDA's stance on language, and its analysis of discourse as social practice and the representation of reality.

Greater than the tread of mighty armies is an idea whose time has come.
(Victor Hugo)

Chapter 3

Analytical Tools for the Study of Discourse and Ideology

3.1 Introduction

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) focuses on the meeting point of “language/discourse/speech and social structure” (Bloommaert 2005: 25). Its critical dimension aims to uncover ways in which social structure is linked to discourse patterns. CDA’s areas of interest are diverse, some of which are relevant to this current study, e.g. ideology (Van Dijk, 1998; Van Leeuwen, 1995, 1996), legitimization (Van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2005), identity (Fairclough, 1995b; Thornborrow, 1998; Kress, 1985a, 1985b), political discourse (Chilton and Schäffner, 2002; Fairclough, 1989, 2000), institutional discourse (Sarangi and Slembrouck 1996; Wodak 1997), etc. In this chapter, I outline the analytical tools I have adopted for my investigation of the social practice of VCS in America. The three main concepts that I examine are ‘context’, ‘recontextualisation’, and ‘legitimation’.

I start in Section 3.2 with the concept of ‘context’. Here I elaborate on the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) that advocates a synchronic and diachronic

analysis for the study of context. It is based on the principle that all discourse is historical and the study of discursive practices must consider the socio-historic elements that the event is embedded in. Hyatt's (2005) model is a further development of DHA and provides a framework for my investigation of the contextual elements of VCS in contemporary America. For the analysis of recontextualisation and legitimation, in Section 3.3 the discussion explains how social practices are turned into discourses via discursive representations. Here, I review the discourse analytic approach by Van Leeuwen (1993a, 1995, 1996), by drawing attention to 'the recontextualisation of social practice', 'representation of social actors and social action'. Besides Van Leeuwen's approach, I discuss the concept of identity construction as part of the process of recontextualisation and elaborate on how identity of self and others are constructed and represented in discourse, i.e. the 'us/them' categorisation and the pronoun 'We' for construction of collective identity, and frame enactment for positive self-representations. In Section 3.4, I move onto the third key concept for my investigation of the ideological practice of VCS, namely 'legitimation'. Van Leeuwen's framework for the analysis of the language of legitimation is discussed. I conclude the chapter in Section 3.5, with a review of the main features and briefly state the aims of the subsequent chapters.

3.2 The Discourse Historical Approach for the Study of the Context of VCS

One of the key influences for the methodology in this study is the ‘Discourse Historical Approach’ (DHA) (e.g. Wodak 1995, Wodak et. al., 1999b). It provides the basis for my own approach to the investigation of VCS in which I consider the analysis of context as a prerequisite for the understanding of text/discourse, e.g. Bush’s speeches. According to Wodak (2001a: 64-71), DHA is committed to CDA as it adheres to CDA’s orientation of critical social theory, its views of discourse as social practice and representation of social reality and the dialectical relation between discourse and the ‘social’ (Fairclough, 1995b; see also discussion in Chapter 2 on CDA). One feature of DHA that sets it apart is its use of the term ‘historical’ that denotes a part of this approach “to integrate systematically all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the many layers of a written and spoken text” (Wodak, 1995: 209). For Wodak:

In investigating historical, organizational and political topics and texts, it integrates large quantities of available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive ‘events’ are embedded. Further it analyses the historical dimension of the discursive actions by exploring the ways in which particular genres of discourse are subject to diachronic change. Lastly, and most importantly, this is not only viewed as ‘information’: at this point we integrate social theories to be able to explain the so-called context. (Wodak, 2001a: 65)

Wodak argues that the context of the discourse has a major impact on the structure and function of text. Her collaboration with her colleagues (Wodak et al., 1990; Wodak, 2001a: 70) involved investigating anti-Semitic discourse in which they considered the linguistic manifestations of prejudice in discourse. This also

required them to focus on how the linguistic elements were embedded in context, for example, in the media coverage of the issue, i.e. news reports and news bulletins in Austria. Furthermore, they looked at other facts and contextual phenomena, e.g. reports in the U.S. showed a biased perspective. When they contrasted the comments from both reports and set this against its historical account, they were able to detect and reveal the disfiguring of representations of facts and reality. Their comparison of the account in the NY Times with the Austrian reports and statements of politicians later confirmed their claims of the prejudiced and anti-Semitic stance of the reports.

For this purpose, Wodak (2001a: 65) followed the principle of triangulation which advocates working with different approaches (multi-method approach), based on a variety of empirical data as well as background information. According to Wodak (2001a: 69-70), some of the most important characteristics of DHA are as follows: (i) it incorporates interdisciplinary perspectives, i.e. theories and practice; (ii) is problem oriented, i.e. not focused on specific linguistic items; (iii) is eclectic in theory and methodology, i.e. integrates different theories and methods for the investigation of the object under investigation; (iv) it always incorporates fieldwork and ethnography as a prerequisite by studying the object of investigation, from the 'inside'; (v) is abductive as it moves back and forth between theory and empirical data; (vi) it studies multiple genres and multiple public spaces as recontextualisation is the most important process in connecting these genres, topics and arguments; and (vii) it analyses and integrates the historical context into the interpretation of texts/discourses.

Some examples of studies that have used DHA include Van Leeuwen and Wodak's (1999) analysis of Austrian immigration laws. DHA enabled them to connect the history of post-war immigration in Austria in general to other related genres of discourse and strategies of argumentation. Their historical analysis showed that there was a shift in attitudes towards foreigners in Austria and this correlated with the population migrations in the wake of the liberalisation of the countries of the former Warsaw pact. In order to analyse this change in attitude, their contextual analysis included a social and political framework of Austrian policies on political refugees and immigrant workers in the period before 1989. The historical account is a crucial factor in their study in which they illustrate the Austrian government's use of discourses of prejudice and racism in its immigration policies (Van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999: 85-86).

Another example is Machin and Van Leeuwen's (2005) study of entertainment texts such as video war games. They found that the discourses employed in the representations of actors and social action in this entertainment media helps to legitimate propagandistic practices. Their analysis of the movie 'Black Hawk Down' and the computer game of the same name showed that the 'special operations discourses' that is commonly associated with American military action is also present in these entertainment genres. This information has led to their finding of the existence of a collaborative venture between the American government and the entertainment industry. For both these studies, various aspects of the context and specifically the political-historical dimension of the texts have been a precondition for analyses and findings.

In the same way, context is a crucial part of my study. It takes on DHA's principles, thus adhering to some of its characteristics listed above. It combines two sets of empirical data, namely political speeches and data from ethnographic field work. Recontextualisation is the main feature of the analysis in this thesis. It links the different genres analysed, e.g. political speeches and interviews, reports, newspaper articles from the ethnographic study. Moreover, the investigation itself takes on a multi-level analysis of the context. Part of the context was described as the background in Chapter 1, but a greater part is narrated in Chapter 4. At this point, I would like to outline how the study was carried out.

The starting point for this study is Bush's 2002 State of the Union Address, in which he launched the USA Freedom Corps and called on people to serve. A historical analysis reveals that the USA Freedom Corps is in fact a national service program. It follows the long line of tradition by past American presidents to engage the people in voluntary service as part of the governments' programs to fight poverty and social ills. This historical perspective also links the USA Freedom Corps to Bush's political ideology – 'compassionate conservatism' and his earlier pledge to engage the people in VCS as part of his policy for welfare reform. These dimensions of the context will show that the USA Freedom Corps has come to the fore in a time of national crisis (September 11 and the war on terror), but is in actuality the conflation of Bush's earlier agenda (the Faith Based Initiative). This information has given me the framework to investigate the USA Freedom Corps as a national campaign and a program of conduct, as well as being part of the Bush's plans for welfare reform. Thus, in general I draw upon a synchronic-diachronic approach

suggested by DHA to incorporate various elements of the context such as the historical, socio-economic, and political dimensions of volunteerism in contemporary America.

In addition, I incorporate data from an ethnographic study to illustrate the impact or practice of Bush's program of welfare reform. Here the Rosberg High's Service Learning Community is situated as 'an instrumental case study' which according to Punch (1998: 150-52) provides insights into an issue and enables the researcher to refine a theory. Punch explains that a case study is based on the idea that one case is studied in detail to understand the object of study in its natural setting, by using whatever method that seems appropriate. According to Mitchell (1984: 239), the "relationships observed in a sample of instances available to the analyst exist in the wider population from which the sample has been drawn", thus "the theoretical relationship among conceptually defined elements in the sample will also apply in the parent population". Thus, case studies are more than 'apt illustrations'. Rather, they are the means for developing general theories. Case studies used in this way can show:

How general principles deriving from some theoretical orientation manifest themselves in some given set of particular circumstances. A good case study therefore enables the analysts to establish theoretically valid connections between events and phenomena which were previously ineluctable.
(Mitchell, 1984: 139)

3.2.1 Hyatt's Model for the Structure of the Temporal Context of VCS

Hyatt's (2005) model for the analysis of temporal context expands on Wodak et al.'s (1999) DHA to suggest four categories that emphasise the importance of the socio-political context and its relevance and impact on the institutional, discoursal and generic features of the text under investigation. He proposes a synchronic-diachronic model to look at the temporal context and its impact on data (text/discourse). Hyatt (2005: 515- 516) describes his model by using the example of an interview by Jeremy Paxman of British MP, Neil Hamilton (that was aired on BBC2 in October 1996). In this interview, Hamilton was said to have behaved in an aggressive manner, even going so far as accusing Paxman of hypocrisy for his life was as lavish as that of the MP. This took place at a time when Hamilton had himself been accused of corruption, bribery, etc.

For Hyatt, Hamilton's reaction reflects the typical adversarial genre of political interviews. But by looking at the contemporary political situation, Hamilton's reaction could be condoned as his career was said to be in jeopardy and his linguistic choices reflected those of a man trying to save his face and career. For Hyatt, a textual analysis of the interview would only have reaffirmed Hamilton's aggressive behaviour, but not why. A register analysis would explain the situation better but even at the level of genre this would be problematic as the interview displays atypical characteristics for the genre of the adversarial political interviews. For these reasons, Hyatt suggests an additional analytical category for a temporal context. The four categories of his models, namely, 'immediate socio-political

context', 'medium-term socio-political context', 'contemporary socio-political individuals, organizations, etc', and 'epoch', are illustrated below with examples from the corpus of political interviews Hyatt used in his study (Hyatt, 2005: 521-531).

1. Immediate socio-political context or immediate synchronic context, involves the "state of the contemporary actuality" (p.521), e.g. what is currently discussed in the media, the social events/ activities that are represented and how all these are evident in the text/ discourse which adds to its generic composition.

For his analysis, Hyatt looked at other interviews at that time, e.g. Kirsty Wark's interview of John Prescott (BBC2, 2 May 1997) to illustrate patterns of the adversarial interview that was were present. These analyses took into account two aspects: that the interview took place a day after the Labour Party took office after 18 years of Conservative rule, at a time when the country was hit by foot and mouth outbreak; and therefore the government's policies were under scrutiny by the media and public. Both these aspects were significant to the popularity of the adversarial type interview in this period.

'The immediate socio-political context' for my study of VCS looks at the events in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks. In my view, in order to examine the 2002 State of the Union Address in which Bush had made his call to the people to volunteer and had launched the USA Freedom Corps, I needed to consider these various contextual elements, i.e. Bush's other speeches in which he had declared his

intentions of war on terrorism, the media's representation of the events in the days following the attacks, and the rise of patriotism and nationalist sentiments amongst Americans. My analyses will demonstrate that these contextual elements have played a key role in Bush's construction of the call for service, and aided in the success of his service campaign to mobilise the people in VCS in the wake of the attacks.

2. Medium-term socio-political context looks at the wider synchronic socio-historic mores, and its impact on the generic conventions studied. It goes beyond the immediate to consider other influential elements that have survived a longer period than the current individual news story. These elements are still fresh or include new parts of the context of culture to represent the wider socio-historical customs and conventions of the people (Hyatt, 2005: 521-22).

Hyatt refers to Thatcherism and Majorism as examples of political eras in the UK that have significance to his interview corpus, e.g. the first interview Hyatt examines took place against a temporal backdrop of the end of Majorism. This political period was mostly associated with corruption, and 'amoral' behaviour of politicians. Therefore against such a backdrop, the adversarial interviewing was particularly high. Hyatt's corpus varied from a period when there was less antagonism in the early period of the New Labour government, to the period after 2001 when the "notion of political 'spin' or the perceived deliberate manipulation of news and media for propaganda purposes by the Labour government" had once

again increased the level of antagonism in the style of political interviewing. For his investigation, Hyatt found that these elements have had a strong bearing on the linguistic choices of the interviewers such as Jeremy Paxman (2005: 525-529).

The 'medium term socio-political context' for my study covers two main elements. I look at Bush's rise to popularity after Clinton's impeachment and in the wake of September 11. During this time, Bush had used a moderate sounding rhetoric to change the image of conservatism to 'compassionate conservatism'. The contextual analysis showed that this rhetoric had played a key role in his rise to popularity. It also took centre stage in the promotion of his ideology and policy for welfare reform via his public addresses. These contextual elements provide the background to my analyses of Bush's speeches in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. My analyses will show that the rhetoric of compassionate conservatism was another factor that played a key role in ensuring the success of the mobilisation of the people via the USA Freedom Corps and the Faith Based Agenda.

According to Hyatt, the 'medium term socio-political context' need not only relate to political aspects as this could also be social elements, e.g. welfare reforms, economic booms/ recession; cultural features, etc. These are not linear transitions and may overlap with the next category. Therefore it is important to consider the impact of the social-historic background on the conventions of the genre under investigation. In order to consider Bush's service initiative within the broader scope of a discourse of welfare reform, I undertook an analysis of the socio-economic context in which I bring together the views of journalists, scholars, sociologists,

economists, the public, etc to illustrate the impact of the USA Freedom Corps and Faith Based Initiative on hunger and poverty in America between the years 2000 and 2004. This account gives us a better understanding of the implementation and policy outcomes of these programs, and provides the backdrop to my investigation of Bush's speeches in Chapter 7 in which I aim to uncover the ideological stance of his welfare reform.

3. Contemporary socio-political individuals, organisations and structures according to Hyatt involve the influence of other actors or agents on the constructions/ representations of the text under scrutiny. They may not be participants of the discourse or text but have had some impact on it anyway (Hyatt, 2005: 522-523).

Examples of these in Hyatt's study include the individual styles of political interviewers such as Jeremy Paxman, John Humphreys who are well known in the UK media discourse for their aggressiveness and persistence, whereby "the individual reputations, responsibilities and ambitions of the interviewees will also affect their choices of how they will encode their responses" (p.529). As Hyatt points out, these are contextualising details of these individuals and without an implicit awareness of the nature of these individuals, the discourse would lack its full meaning. In my study, one key individual who has influenced and shaped Bush's ideology and discourses is Marvin Olasky, a Texas professor better known for his right-wing Christian ideology. Bush's 2001 State of the Union Address which I analyze in Chapter 5 is mainly informed by Olasky's publications and views on

welfare reform. Looking at Olasky's background enabled me to locate the right-wing Christian discourses of faith and responsibility used in Bush's speeches, which in turn underlie his programs for welfare reform.

4. Epoch or the synchronic context and discursal construction of time and space draws upon Foucault's notion of episteme or what holds to be truth or knowledge in a particular era in order to show how an episteme is constructed and reinforced in/through discourse (Hyatt, 2005: 523).

Hyatt refers to Fairclough's views that link the notion of epoch with hegemonic practices in society:

the discourse of an epoch is determined by its powerful voices and given consensual power rather than coerced power through the notion of hegemony, through the discourses of appropriacy and common sense in which the ideology of dominant groupings is 'naturalized' into acceptance as 'the way things are'. For example, one might consider the way in which the dominant technologised discourse of medicine has displaced other discourses related to social or 'alternative forms of medicine'. (Hyatt, 2005: 523)

For Hyatt such diachronic significance can be illustrated, for example, by looking at the changing generic features of texts in different temporal contexts, e.g. 1950s and late 1990s, which can reveal the different factors that have led to changes and consequently the implications that have followed such changes. He quotes the example of the late 1990s phenomenon of 'dumbing down' that was evident especially in ITV's news coverage that focused on making news more interesting and controversial in order to improve its audience ratings. Thus, the interviewers play a role in determining as well as maintaining the status quo through the ways in



which they question policies and report events which can lead to epochal derivations of time and space (Hyatt, 2005: 530).

For my investigation of the discursive construction of episteme, I refer to the significance of September 11 that has been described as “inaugurating a new strategic era or a ‘new stage in world history’ ” (Lazar and Lazar, 2004: 223). In his 2002 State of the Union Address, Bush also makes such epistemic distinctions through his reference to September 11. For my analysis of the context, I show evidence of this synchronic distinction that has brought about a diachronic change. After September 11 the Bush administration had repeatedly declared the birth of a new era. I look at how this derivation of time and space has played a key role in his legitimisation and implementation of the USA Freedom Corps, as well as for the successful mobilisation of the people in VCS (discussed in Chapter 6).

In this section I have looked specifically at DHA as the basis for the methodological and analytical procedures in my investigation of the practice of VCS. With context as a key concept, I used both DHA and Hyatt’s model to explain the different dimensions of context that I refer to in my investigation. A full account of the context using the four categories is presented in Chapter 4. In the next section, I explain my second key concept – ‘recontextualisation’.

3.3 Social Practices as Discursive Representations

The central tenet for the analyses in this thesis is the idea of discursive representation. This idea of representations can be seen in the work of Berger and

Luckman (1966) who claim that the world we live in is not just natural objective phenomena, but is constructed by a whole range of different social arrangements and practices. They argue that knowledge goes hand in hand with social action. It is through our daily interaction with each other that our ways of thinking and behaviour are transmitted. In this sense, knowledge and understanding is constructed and sustained through social processes. Potter (1996) views representation as description of fact construction. For Potter (1996: 1-3), facts are constructed by answering two self self-posed questions, e.g. "how are descriptions produced so that they will be treated as factual?" and "how are these factual descriptions put together in ways that allow them to perform particular actions?" In answering how our descriptions come to be regarded as 'factual' Potter looks at the main traditions of work related to fact construction such as the sociology of scientific knowledge, ethnomethodology and conversation analysis, semiology, post-structuralism and postmodernism. He also provides an account of some of the basic procedures through which factuality of descriptions is built-up, and how these descriptions are involved in actions.

In this thesis, the social practice of VCS is investigated using the concept of representations – of how social practices are changed into discourses. According to Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), social practices involve ways of interacting in social life. They define practices as

habituated ways, tied to particular times and places, in which people apply resources (material or symbolic) to act together in the world. Practices are constituted throughout social life — in the specialised domains of the economy and politics, for instance but also in the domain of culture,

including everyday life. Practices constitute a point of connection between abstract structures and their mechanisms, and concrete events— between ‘society’ and people living their lives. (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999: 21).

In this sense, discourses always represent the doing, and the doing is the foundation of knowing, thus social practices are the foundation of discourses (Van Leeuwen, 2008). In a similar vein, Fairclough (2003: 206) sees ‘discourses’ as particular ways of representing the world – as different ways of signifying experience.

Discourses are diverse representations of social life which are inherently positioned – differently positioned social actors ‘see’ and represent social life in different ways, different discourses. (Fairclough, 2003: 206)

CDA thus looks at social practices as discursive practices. It considers how practices are turned into discourses (discourse as knowledge/s of the world, as discursive representations). Following this tradition, in this thesis, the practice of VCS is seen as a *discourse practice* (the discursive/institutional processes of consumption /production and interpretation), and as a *social practice* (the situational, institutional and cultural contexts which voluntary service is part of), and the terms are used interchangeably when referring to the practices of VCS. This is based on the view that volunteer involvement practices are discursive practices that are embedded within its socio-political contexts. Taking this perspective, my main strategy for analyses involves looking at how the different actors define and redefine the social practice of VCS as part of an on-going interaction and construction in the social production and interpretation of the meanings of VCS, e.g. how Bush talks about (represents) the practice of VCS, what discourses these representations draw

upon in a general way to legitimate the social practice of VCS, and what meanings they convey.

The method for analysis looks at what people say or write about voluntary service practices; or in other words, how voluntary community service practices are 'recontextualised'. In this section, I explain what recontextualisation is and look at Van Leeuwen's (1993a) distinction of the different types of recontextualisation that can occur. Recontextualisation can involve elements of social practices, e.g. participant and activity. I elaborate with a discussion of the representation of social actor (Van Leeuwen, 1996) and social action (Van Leeuwen, 1995) which form the main investigative tools used for the analyses of the practice of VCS.

3.3.1 Recontextualisation

The study of discursive practices as social practices is related to Bernstein's (1990) concept of 'Recontextualisation' as representation – the incorporation of one social practice into another social practice (see Van Leeuwen, 1993). Van Leeuwen (1993a: 51-9) explains that the recontextualised social practice may be a sequence of non-linguistic activities, or even both linguistic and non-linguistic activities. But the recontextualising social practice always involves 'linguistic (and/or other semiotic) activities' which means it is a 'genre'. Van Leeuwen (2005: 109) describes genre as a social practice that recontextualises one or more other social practices, whereby some elements of the social practice are imported or taken out of their context and situated into another context. This involves the practical knowledge of the social

practice whereby knowledge becomes represented through discursive means.

Therefore when social practices are written or spoken about (reported, discussed, described), they are being recontextualised. In fact, when written or spoken, the recontextualisation of social practice in itself becomes a social practice.

While recontextualisation always involves representation, it also involves transformation. For Stillar (1998: 6), transformation is the central act of rhetoric, and for “identification to occur, a change in attitude and orientation must occur, and a change in attitude and orientation amounts to a change in the ways we are likely to act.” In a similar vein, for Linell (1998: 144-5):

Recontextualisation may be defined as the dynamic transfer-and transformation of something from one discourse/text-in-context (the context being in reality a matrix or field of contexts) to another. Recontextualisation involves the extrication of some part of or aspect from a text or discourse, or from a genre of texts or discourses, and the fitting of this part or aspect into another context, i.e., another text or discourse (or discourse genre) and its use and environment.

Sarangi (1998: 306-308) sees recontextualisation as “not representation but re-presentation or re-production” and this involves creativity. The creation of written texts is a crucial aspect in the recontextualisation process in which texts from one stage of a process (e.g. journal entries of voluntary service activity) become the basis of another part of the process of recontextualisation (e.g. report by service coordinator). Texts go through different stages and get removed from the actual social practice that produced the discourse in the first place. When social practices get recontextualised in this way, it is through texts that they may lose certain values and meanings or gain others. The transformation in texts and genres would result in

changes in context and agents, as to who gets included or excluded, which messages are foregrounded or which lose their importance; all depending on the interests, goals and values of the context into which the practice is being recontextualised (Van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999: 96).

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 118-119) explain the nature of text selection and appropriation by linking recontextualisation with genre, intertextuality/ interdiscursivity and social control. They explain that there is an element of intertextuality in the selective appropriation of discourses, whereby it has to be combined with a theory of power, e.g. Gramsci's theory of hegemony because "it is not clear at what point, why and how the material basis and the forms of modalities of power and control operating in specific social contexts (as classification and framing) embed intertextual relations in a theory of social regulation and explain why certain intertextualities but not others are possible in a particular discursive practice" (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999: 119).

A. Recontextualisation of Social Practice

According to Van Leeuwen (1993a: 30) social practices "are the things people do, insofar as these are, with greater or lesser degrees of freedom, fixed by custom or explicit prescription , or some mixture of these two". The main elements of a social practice that becomes recontextualised may include participants, activities, performance indicators, times, location/places, tools/materials, eligibility conditions, dress and grooming (Van Leeuwen, 1993a; Van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999). In what follows, I briefly outline the two main elements that are important for

my study of the social practice of voluntary community service – participants and activities – to state how they come to be recontextualised.

As Van Leeuwen (1993a: 31-35) sees it, a social practice consists of a set of participants, which he refers to as social actors. They are involved in the activities and carry out certain roles that situate them as the actors within a given social practice. The core of a social practice is formed by a set of activities that informs the social practice, the social action. Some participants may have more freedom than others on what they can or are able to do, e.g. volunteers have some levels of freedom in terms of their interaction with those being served, but the activities may be planned by institutions that engage the volunteers. Different social practices entail different levels of freedom, conformity and regulations. They can be guided by rules or fixed by conventions, habits, customs and traditions, but it may or may not allow for choice, e.g. sequences, procedures or orders that serve to achieve some kind of goal. The way in which the goal is achieved would then inform the social relations between the participants to each other with respect to that goal: how and what people do to or with each other to realise the social goal, would also determine the social relations between them, e.g. hierarchies, asymmetries etc.

Van Leeuwen (1993a: 46) adds that the elements, e.g. participant, may be part of any social practice, but it is not in actuality part of the “social practice-as-it-happens”. These elements are part of the representation of the original social practice, or, in other words, the recontextualisation of the social practice (Bernstein, 1990). These are discursive practices and link social practices to the discourses that

represent them. Such discursive representations of social practices involve more than just the social practice; much of it would involve our experiences or information from memory or other involvement we have had of that social practice. These would all account for a representation of the social practice whereby the social practice and the discourse about the social practice become intertwined. “Discourse about practice, then, always takes place outside the context of that practice, and within the context of another social practice” (Van Leeuwen 1993a: 51, emphasis in original).

Recontextualisation or transformation of social practice can take place in different ways in order to achieve the goals of the recontextualising social practice. Some of them include *rearrangement*, *deletion*, *additions*, *substitutions* and *evaluations* (Van Leeuwen (1993a: 61-75). ‘*Rearrangement*’ is when the elements of the social practice are rearranged in a way determined by the purposes of the context into which the social practice is being recontextualised. The rearrangement thus may not follow the sequence of the social practice as it actually occurs.

Representations (Van Leeuwen, 1993a: 61-65) can often involve some information being included while others maybe deleted. *Deletions* of elements such as actors or action of the practice may not be relevant for the purpose of texts. *Additions* on the other hand would involve other subcategories such as *repetitions*, *reactions*, *purposes/goals* and *legitimations*. *Repetitions* involve the occurrence of the same element many times in the text for the purpose of redundancy and cohesion. *Goals* or *purposes* of the same social practice may be defined differently in different recontextualisations of that practice. Goals explain the ‘what for’ of the

social practice and are not implicit aspects of the activities or parts of activities. For this reason they may not be explicitly stated.

In their recontextualisations, texts not only represent social practices they also provide reasons and legitimate or delegitimize them. *Legitimation* in recontextualisation explains the reasons ‘why’ the social practice or some parts of it need to take place or the way they do take place. The nature and presence of legitimation in texts may vary – sometimes it may be completely absent and at other times, the text itself might be about legitimation (Van Leeuwen, 1993a: 66-72). Van Leeuwen (1993a: 72; 1993b) used his study of the ‘first day of school’ in which he analyzed various texts, e.g. children’s stories, parental guidance, brochures, newspaper articles, etc. associated with this discursive practice. He found that while these texts seem on the surface to be ‘ideologically innocent’, they deal with shifts in aspects of power related to the socialisation process of the child’s life from the parents to the institution. He concluded that some instances such as ‘getting children ready for the first day’, the discursive practices of professionals, e.g. teachers, and the power of the school as a major social institution, constitute practices that are taken for granted— i.e., treated as commonsensical and natural – thus, not requiring legitimations. But commonsensical practices such as these, he warns, are the most ideologically driven and need to be carefully examined (Van Leeuwen, 1993b: 193-221).

Substitution is another way in which elements of the social practice may be recontextualised. When some elements of the social practice are *substituted*, these

elements are represented in a variety of other words, signs, etc. Therefore something stands for something making the representation and the recontextualised practice not identical (p.61-63). Recontextualisation may also add *evaluations* to social practices. *Evaluation* is not legitimisation but it is always linked to legitimisation, e.g. this may include moral judgements of good and bad, right or wrong, whereby evaluations may incur legitimating discourses. In sum, Van Leeuwen adds that “while a legitimating discourse is needed to legitimate ‘moral’ evaluations, other evaluations are legitimated by the practice itself, or by the goals or reactions connected to it in a given recontextualising practice” (Van Leeuwen , 1993a: 72-75).

In this section, I have looked at the different ways in which elements of social practices can be spoken or written about, i.e. recontextualised. One example of the use of the framework of recontextualisation is my analyses of Bush’s speeches in Chapters 5 and 6, where I look at how he represents or recontextualises the main elements of the social practice of VCS, i.e. the participants/social actors and activity/ social action. In the next section, I describe the corresponding framework for the analysis of social actors and action (Van Leeuwen, 1966; 1995, respectively) that explains how these elements can be recontextualised/ represented.

B. Representation of Social Actors

Van Leeuwen’s (1996) ‘social actors’ categorisation offers a comprehensive framework for the analysis of the discursive representation of social actors. It investigates the concept of agency, a principle notion of CDA. Van Leeuwen’s analysis uses linguistic and rhetorical realisations, but focuses primarily on

“sociological categories (‘nominalization’, ‘passive agent deletion’, etc.) that consider the concept of ‘social actor’ instead of linguistic categories such as the ‘nominal group’” (1996: 32-36). One important focus of the actors’ categorisation is the contrastive stance of its categories, e.g. exclusion and inclusion, nominalization and categorisation. These categories are part of contrast structures through which actors, events or others are characterised by contrasting them in terms of appropriateness, normality, positive and negative evaluations, etc. (Potter, 1996: 201). The analysis looks at specific sets of social actors in social practices, some of which include those stated below.

Representations can include or exclude people through the ways in which they are discursively mentioned in the texts, explicitly or otherwise. This category is known as ‘exclusion/ inclusion’ (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 38-42). While some form of exclusion may be non-intentional and ‘innocent’, other means of exclusion could be closely tied into ideologies or propaganda. Two further categories include ‘suppression’ (absence of the mention of participant) and ‘backgrounding’ (when the participant is excluded in relation to the activity but mentioned elsewhere in text). One important example of how social actors can be included or excluded is Trew’s (1979a: 97ff; also Trew, 1999b) analysis of the press reports of the riots in South Africa. Trew found that the account of two papers of the riots had excluded the police who had opened fire and killed the demonstrators. Both papers had done so in the interest of their readers who happened to be predominantly white, and the reports themselves had the hidden agenda of justifying ‘white rule in Africa’.

Van Leeuwen (1996: 42-45) investigates the concept of *agency* through what he calls 'activation/passivation'. Activation looks at who is active and plays a dynamic role. It tells us who is represented as 'agent'/'participant/ the 'doer'. This category is contrasted with 'Passivation' that looks at who is 'patient'/ the 'receiver', or the one the action is being done unto (Goal). They are represented as 'undergoing' the activity or being placed on the receiving end of the activity. This has two further classifications whereby the passivated social actor can be either *subjected* or *beneficialised*. Subjected social actors are treated as objects in the representation while beneficialised social actors benefit from the action.

Social actors can also be represented in a generic or specific way. These categories are known as 'genericisation/ specification', whereby they can be represented as classes or as specific, identifiable individuals. Another set of contrastive categories is 'individualisation/ assimilation', where social actors can be referred to as individuals or as groups. 'Assimilation' can be further distinguished as 'aggregation' and 'collectivisation'. Aggregation groups participants and treats them as statistics, facts and figures. Collectivisation is often realised through first person plural, 'we' and nouns such as 'nation', 'community', 'America' etc. Social actors can also be represented as groups through 'association' or 'dissociation'. This refers to groups formed by social actors and/or groups of social actors, generically or specifically (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 43-49).

According to Van Leeuwen (1996: 49- 55), 'indetermination' occurs when social actors are represented as unspecified, 'anonymous' individuals or groups;

‘determination’ occurs when their identity is specified in one way or another. Social actors can be represented as being unique in their identity by being ‘nominated’. They can also be seen as a whole with others in terms of identities and functions. This is known as ‘categorisation’. ‘Functionalisation’ is another category in Van Leeuwen’s social actors’ analysis. It is also a key form of categorisation used by the various actors in the social practice of VCS. ‘Functionalisation’ occurs when social actors are referred to in terms of an activity, something they accomplish in terms of their occupation or their role. In contrast, ‘identification’ considers actors as what they, more or less permanently or unavoidably, are. There are three further ways of identification: ‘classification’, ‘relational identification’ and ‘physical identification’.

Van Leeuwen (1996: 55- 61) explains that participants can also be ‘impersonalised’ and represented as something without the semantic meaning of human. ‘Impersonalisation’ can occur through ‘abstraction’ (social actors are represented through some quality attributed to them by the representation) and ‘objectivation’ (social actors are represented in reference to a place or thing that they are closely associated with). Another category is known as ‘overdetermination’ and occurs when social actors are represented for being involved concurrently in more than one social practice like a character in a fairy tale representing a father and the king. These can further be distinguished through ‘inversion’, ‘symbolisation’, ‘connotation’, and ‘distillation’.

So far I have described Van Leeuwen's categories for the recontextualisation of social actors. All these categories are crucial in my investigation of VCS and its representations by the various actors, e.g. Bush through his addresses to the people. I now turn to Van Leeuwen's representation of social action which shows us how activities such as performing service can be grammatically realised by considering the different transformations/recontextualisations they undergo in discourse (Van Leeuwen, 1995).

C. Representation of Social Action

Van Leeuwen's (1995: 85-96) first category is called 'reactions' and this represents the private feelings of the participants, e.g. joy, fear, anger etc. These are emotions that are kept inside the participants, but is an important feature of social representations because institutions are often concerned about the feelings of those who are involved in the social practice, e.g. voters, service providers, children etc. Actions and reactions can also be represented as an active form, 'activated' or 'deactivated' as a static rather than a dynamic process. 'Objectivated' actions are realized through nominalizations or process nouns, or they can also be realized metonymically, by various kinds of displacements such as 'temporalisation' (substituting with the time associated with the action or reaction); 'spatialisation' (substituting with a place associated with the action or reaction); or various other forms of displacements.

Actions and reactions can also be 'agentialised' (brought about by human agency), or 'de-agentialised' (brought about in other ways, e.g. natural processes,

unconscious processes etc.). Different representations can generalise at different degrees and can be seen as a form of 'abstraction' whereby they abstract away from the 'micro-activities'. Some 'generalisations' can abstract qualities from the actions or reactions. This category is also found in the social actors' categories in the previous section. As part of the representation of social action, 'overdetermination' is a kind of symbolic representation that involves the representation of the social actors in more than one social practice. Symbolisation can be local or extended and can be applied to social action. Allegories, metaphors, symbolisations are all part of overdetermination (Van Leeuwen, 96-104).

In conclusion, Van Leeuwen adds that these categories are just some of the ways in which social actors and social action can be represented discursively. While the categories themselves are discussed separately, social actors and action may be represented in more than one way at the same time, thus these categories enable us to identify those representations. In this thesis, these categories and those of the recontextualisation process discussed earlier form the main tools for my investigation of the social practice of VCS. In all four analytical chapters, my investigation looks at how the elements of the social practice of VCS, i.e. actors and the activity, are represented by the different actors, e.g. as service providers or recipients, and the implications such forms of representations have on the kinds of social relations that are established and maintained.

According to Van Leeuwen (1993a: 35), what people do to or with each other realises the social relations between them. In his example of the study of 'the

first day at school', he explains this by looking at the social relation between the mother and child. Here the mother is initially in charge of the child, whereby the child is subject to her authority. Upon arrival at school, this changes when the teacher takes over and has authority over the child for a certain period of the child's day, and with respect to certain tasks. Van Leeuwen concludes that through this type of social relation, both hierarchy (institutionalised agent-client relations) and division of labour (some aspects are taught by mothers, others by teachers) are achieved.

This is also true in the case of the social practice of VCS where those involved in providing service have agency over those receiving service as they are treated as their clients, beneficiaries, etc. In this thesis, the social relations between service providers (volunteers) and service recipients are investigated by looking at how specific actors represent (e.g. talk/write about) their involvement in voluntary community service. More specifically, it investigates how they construct and represent themselves and others. The actors' representation of self and others is part of the construction of their identity. In Chapter 2, I looked at the idea of 'subject positioning' by referring to Fairclough's (1995: 43) views where he draws on Foucault's thesis that the social subject who produces a statement is a function of the statement itself – in this sense, the "statement positions subjects". Fairclough explains this by using the example of teaching as a discursive activity that positions both those who take part as a 'teacher' and as a 'learner'. The doctor-patient relation is another example used. Both examples illustrate kinds of socialisation processes

and the routinisation of such relationships that ascribe to power differences and thus naturalise power differentials.

This frame, when applied to my study, leads to the understanding that as a discursive practice, voluntary community service positions the social actor as service providers and the other as the recipient or client. But this type of positioning involves ideological and power issues. Fairclough (1995: 66) explains that the “discursive constitution of society does not emanate from a free play of ideas in people’s head, but from a social practice which is firmly rooted in and oriented to real material social structures”. He uses the concept of ‘orders of discourse’ to describe the ways in which individuals move through institutionalised discursive regimes and construct their identities, social categories and realities (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000: 449). Constructing identity, thus, involves discursive representations of who and what we are. In the following section, I review the literature on the study of identity and relate it to my discussion on recontextualisation/representation to state how it is employed in this thesis.

3.3.2 Constructing and Representing Identity

The concept of identity has in recent years become a prominent theme in social science research (Zilles and King 2005; Chryssochoou, 2003; Triandafyllidou and Wodak, 2003). Blommaert (2005: 203-204) explains that identity is who and what we are. He refers to Le Page and Tabouret-Keller’s (1985) view that the ‘who and what we are’ is “dependent on context, occasion, and purpose, and it almost

invariably involves a semiotic process of representation: symbols narratives, textual genres such as standard forms and the CV. In fact, identity is semiotic through and through, and every act of semiosis is an act of identity in which we ‘give off’ information about ourselves”. In this sense, identity construction involves representations of who and what we are. Blommaert sees the act of identity as complex and involving a wide range of situating processes

situating the individual in relation to several layers of (real, sociological) ‘groupness’ and (socially constructed) ‘categories’ (age, category, sex, professional category, but also national, cultural, and ethnolinguistic categories), situating this complex in turn in relation to other such complexes (young versus old, and so on), and situating this identification in relation to the situation at hand, making selections that result in ‘relevant’ identity. (Blommaert, 2005: 204)

The idea that identity is situational and involves various complex processes can be seen in Giddens’ (1991) thesis about reflexivity of modernity. Giddens explains how self-identity is constructed in modern societies in contrast to pre-modern societies. He says that how people live, act, speak are all a question to us. In this post-traditional order self-identity is not inherited or static; rather it is reflexive and dynamic and it involves an endeavour that we must continuously work and reflect on.

What to do? How to act? Who to be? These are focal questions for everyone living in circumstances of late modernity — and ones which, on some level or another, all of us answer, either discursively or through day-to-day social behaviour. (Giddens 1991: 70)

While in pre-modern times, the way people lived was prescribed, for example by tradition, in the modern society it is defined by lifestyle choices. It is a

new way of expressing identity that defines the individual in terms of what he/she does, acts, thinks, speaks, etc. Thus, self-identity is an account of the individual's life that involves a continuous reflexive project of the self. A person's identity involves keeping a particular narrative going, which must "continually integrate events which occur in the external world, and sort them into the ongoing 'story' about the self" (Giddens, 1991: 54). Giddens' (1991) view of the 'reflexive project of self' is based on the narrative or biography of self that the individual constructs. For Giddens, discourse is the crucial feature of this theory of selfhood:

The reflexive project of the self, which consists in the sustaining of coherent, yet continuously revised, biographical narratives, takes place in the context of multiple choice as filtered through abstract systems. In modern social life, the notion of lifestyle takes on a particular significance. The more tradition loses its hold, and the more daily life is reconstituted in terms of the dialectical interplay of the local and the global, the more individuals are forced to negotiate lifestyle choices among a diversity of options. (Giddens, 1991: 5)

In a similar vein, Blommaert posits that any significant research in the field of identity studies would argue that people do not have an identity, but that identities are constructed in practices that "*produce, enact or perform identity* – identity is identification, an outcome of socially conditioned semiotic work" (2005: 205, emphasis in original). This view was emphasised by Butler (1990: 33) in her study of gender identities and the 'performative' nature of gender identity. Butler sees 'feminine' and 'masculine' as not what we are in terms of our traits, but more about what we do. She argues that gender identity is something that is continually performed and enacted (Wodak 1997). In a similar vein, Carlson (1996: 4) suggests that when we are conscious of our actions, we are actually performing. And if we are

conscious of projecting an identity, for example when we are telling someone who we are or what we do, we are performing an identity. Thus, all human behaviour can be considered a performance (Carlson, 1996). Lemke (2008: 24) explains this further by considering how longer term identities are constructed. He states that Butler's notion of identity performance

incorporates the notion that the longer-term aspects of identity are maintained and reinforced in us as we act in the moment in particular ways. They are also therefore, subject to change for the future through our active agentive choice to perform in some ways and not in others. We perform a pre-existing identity, that is we continue a previous pattern of response to certain types of situations, and to the extent that the actual situation now presents with both the affordances to do so and the 'figured' (Holland et al., 1998) opportunities and expectations to see ourselves as performing some such aspects of our continuing identity. (Lemke, 2008: 24)

According to Lemke, longer term identities cannot be determined by single performance, and require a pattern of performance across time, situations, etc. which involve our habitus (Bourdieu, 1991) and are constituted by many actions across many moments.

If these dispositions are positional and structural, similar for some persons of the same social-class background, gender, and so on, it is because of the similar life opportunities, access to situation types, expectations of others, and so forth that we encounter repeatedly in living the kind of lives typical of our caste, generation, and the like. We are more likely to have certain choices in clothes, foods, discourses and not others presented to us or available to us, and to consistently within this range of choices, developing a habitus which distinguishes us in our later 'spontaneous choices... (Lemke, 2008: 24)

But momentary actions can add up to longer term identities if there are opportunities to enact these identities, and these will help to enact the identity during each occasion (Lemke, 2008). A further development of this perspective of

performance is the idea of stylisation or styling discussed by Cameron (2000a; 2000b) in her study of workers in call-centres. Cameron found that the individual speech of these workers is structured into similar uniform kinds of ‘talk performance’, a kind of styling of their ‘talk’. According to Thurlow and Jaworski (2006: 104), styling is a prescribed imposition of ways of being:

...we take stylization to be the strategic (re)presentation and promotion of particular ways of being (or styles) involving language, image, social practice and material culture.

Thurlow and Jaworski (2006: 105, emphasis in original) draw upon Giddens (1991) and Bourdieu (1984). According to them one outcome of such stylisation is that “through repetition and routinisation, they may become habituated and ‘structured’ (Giddens, 1991) into more extensive narratives of self and a *lifestyle* which in turn forms (or reshapes) one’s *habitus*” (Bourdieu, 1984). Habitus is a product of individual life history, socialisation, etc. that informs the person’s preferences, choices, perspectives, etc. and relates to Giddens’ idea of a person’s identity through the on-going narrative of a reflexive project of continuous self-construction. But identity construction also sees the involvement of others in reinstating/reinforcing the identity of self. Blommaert (2005: 205-6, emphasis in original) explains that “in order for identity to be established, it has to be *recognised* by others”. What this means is that identity construction involves not just the self, but also others. Blommaert elaborates further:

[R]egardless of whether one wants to belong to particular groups or not, one is often grouped by others in processes of – often institutionalised – social categorisation called *othering*. There is difference between ‘achieved’ or ‘inhabited’ group identity and ‘ascribed categorical identity, and both kinds

involve different semiotic practices and occur under different conditions.
(Blommaert, 2005: 205-06)

In this thesis, I share Giddens' view of the multiplicity of identities and the reflexive biography of self in the construction of identity. In Chapter 8, I look at how each other represents/recontextualises elements of VCS, e.g. how the different actors talk about the other through the activity of performing service. I will demonstrate the reflexive nature of their construction of self with examples of the students' narrative of their service experience that helps in shaping who and what they are or claim to be. I also take on the perspective that identity is the outcome or the product of the social relationships that are enacted in the course of social practices. This is based on the social constructionist view of identity that is seen as multiple and fluid and as "the emergence and re-emergence of the self" which involves various situational, social and historical factors (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999: 412-413).

In VCS, the actors ascribe to specific subject positions as service providers and as service recipients. This type of positioning determines the social interaction of the actors, as well as their relations with each other. Thus, I treat the notion of 'self' as "being *accomplished* in the course of social interactions; reconstructed from moment to moment within specific discursive and rhetorical contexts, and *distributed* across social contexts" (Edley and Wetherell, 1997: 205, emphasis in original). Additionally, I consider how the positioning of actors in a social practice helps to shape the identities of the individuals. Identities are created through the social actions we perform; in other words social actions create identities – we are what we do. This view follows on from Van Leeuwen's (1996) perspective that

social actors can be identified through categorisations in terms of what they do, i.e. functionalisation. I also take on Lemke's view discussed earlier that long-term sustained involvement in voluntary service is crucial in defining and reinforcing identity. In Chapter 8, I illustrate this point with an example of a narrative (in an interview) of a senior student who has had a longer term involvement in voluntary service. Besides, my analyses will demonstrate how his sustained involvement in VCS has played a key role in his construction of self and others like himself, e.g. social groups. This leads to the idea of group affiliation, and the involvement of others in identity construction, another feature of identity construction discussed in this thesis.

My analyses look at the role of other actors' such as teachers and volunteer agencies, as well as government organisations in shaping and determining the identities of the students. When considered through their subject positions as service providers, it will highlight the view that identities involve an element of role performance or performativity and stylisation. According to Fairclough (2003: 159), styles figure greatly in the construction of identities. "Styles are the discursive aspect of ways of being, identities. Who you are is partly a matter of how you speak, how you write, as a matter of embodiment - how you look, hold yourself, how you move, and so forth." But style also links identity with social positions. It defines the positions of the participants and signals relationships of power, and if these positions are controlled by ideologies, the "style will be a direct 'trace' of ideologies in discourse" (Van Dijk, 1998: 272). My analyses in Chapter 8 aim to show that the

representations of self and others in the social practice of VCS help to legitimate the ideology of the government.

A. Social Representations of Self and Others: ‘Us/Them’ Categorisations

One key method for the analysis of the discursive representation of self and others is by drawing on the categorisation of ingroups and outgroups. Here ingroups would include ‘us’ and outgroups become ‘othered’ as ‘them’. Constructing and representing ingroups and outgroups is closely related to the idea of identity construction, and it is more importantly associated with legitimating ideologies. Van Dijk (1995: 18) explains that ideologies are the overall abstract mental systems that organise socially shared representations, e.g. ideas, beliefs, attitudes, values, etc. These mental representations of individuals are what he calls ‘models’ that “control how people speak, act, or write, or how they understand the social practices of others” (Van Dijk, 1995: 2). In this sense, ideologies are representations of who we are, what we stand for, what our values are and what our relationships with others are. Van Dijk (1998) posits ideology as a self-serving schema for the representation of us and them as social groups which reflects the fundamental social, economic, political or cultural interests of, and conflicts between, us and them (in Oktar, 2001: 313-14). Thus, analysing and making explicit the mental representations of social groups through the contrastive dimension of ‘us’ and ‘them’ has been a crucial feature of his analysis of the ideology and discourse of racism (Van Dijk, 1998).

In their analysis of immigration laws in Austria, Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999: 92-94) conclude that one main strategy of the authority in the legitimation of

the bureaucratic decision-making process is by using linguistic structures that “invite identification and solidarity with the ‘we’ group, which at the same time implies a distancing from and marginalisation of the ‘they’ group.” This discursive strategy is known as the ‘us and them’ categorisation. It helps create a hierarchical representation of social groups thereby legitimating and validating as the norm, the ideological standpoint of ‘us’ or the preferred social group. In the following paragraphs, I look at the theoretical background of the ‘us/them’ categorisation.

The ‘us/them’ delineation is derived from what is known as the social identity theory which was originally developed in the late 1970s by Tajfel and Turner (see Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel and Turner, 1979). This theory suggests that social categories provide members of social groups with a collective and prescribed identity based on a self definition of who or what they are. Extending from identity theory is a more developed version known as self-categorisation theory (Turner et al., 1987). Self categorisation theory holds that people categorise one another when in group contexts based on similarities and differences. Their motivation and goals are crucial aspects that inform them about which categories they belong in, thus impacting on inter-group relations. As a result, this involves their self-concept which means that in order to establish themselves as similar to a certain social group, they will at the same time distinguish themselves as being different from others. Thus, an identity of ‘us’ is dependent on a ‘them’ that is both different and outside of ‘us’.

By emphasising their similarities, people behave in a way that would conform to the norms and practices of the ingroup. However, this process of self-

categorisation produces not only ingroup normative behaviour but also self-stereotyping in accordance with the underlying group behaviour (Oakes et. al., 1993). This type of representation is an essential strategy that is utilised in identifying who we are. But stereotypes of ingroups would involve positive self-presentations while outgroups are stereotyped in a negative light. Such stereotyped categorisations would ultimately be reflected in the ideologies of the social groups and the language of the culture they belong in (Stangor and Lange, 1993).

According to Otkar (2001: 318) social identity theory suggests two basic points; first that self-categorisation leads to individuals classifying the world in a dual and polarised form, i.e. 'us from them'; and secondly, people use others as the point of reference when defining themselves, 'us' and 'them'. This is one way through which identities are constructed whereby the ingroup, 'us', is defined in terms of what they are not (Triandafyllidou and Wodak, 2003: 216). National identities are constructed in this way, through a constant comparison with 'others' such as 'foreigners', 'aliens', 'immigrants', etc. Furthermore, besides focusing on the differences, national identities are also based on the sameness or uniqueness (Hall, 1994 cited in De Cilla et al., 1999: 153-54) for solidarity with one's own national group. For these reasons, the 'us and them' categorisation is crucial in discourses of discrimination (Wodak et al., 1993) and racism (Van Dijk, 1998).

One aspect of such group construction is the prevalence of the 'we discourse'. In their study of neo-racist discourses, Wodak and Matouschek (1993) found that a 'we discourse' was used to reject personal responsibility (or guilt) of an

issue or problem while at the same time it enabled displacement onto the group as a whole. Concurrently they also found that the 'we discourse' and positive-self presentation were strategies used to legitimise prejudices of ingroups towards immigrants. Thus, constructing such a collective status could also mean that the 'others' would naturally be excluded and debased from the preferred collective group/'us'.

Oktar (2001: 318-19) elaborates on this in her second point that positive self-presentation involves self-esteem and therefore leads them to view their own group (ingroup) as being superior to the outgroup. In this way, social identity theory focuses on the human tendency to categorise people into stereotyped groups, and explains 'the development and retention of ingroup bias'. But most importantly this theory also provides an understanding of the human inclination to foreground the negative stereotypical traits of the outgroup (Anastasio et al., 1997: 237 in Oktar: 319). This kind of categorisation defines an opposition between us and them through the definition of 'us' as being good and standing for what is 'better' in terms of values, beliefs and practices, while 'them' would be perceived as 'bad' for not sharing similar values and beliefs. This defines the 'us/them' categorisation within the scope of Manichaeian discourse – the use of binary opposites which are antagonistic by nature, i.e. 'good and evil', 'heroes and villains' etc., in order to represent the ingroup and outgroup – which makes self-presentation and therefore 'us/them' categorisation ideological by nature because it focuses on group polarisation that employs a strategy of positive self-presentation of the ingroup and negative other-presentation of the outgroup (Oktar, 2001: 318-19).

But such negative representation of others can not only lead to an ‘us and them’ or an ‘us from them’ categorisation, it can also lead to the distinction of the ‘us versus them’ categorisation. Huntington (2002: 21) explains that we only know who we are when we know who we are against. This way of constructing groups draws on the antagonistic worldview of friends/ allies versus enemies, perpetrators, for example. Huntington’s logic takes the view that the identity of ‘us’ is dependent on a fear of ‘them’. An important example of the use of the ‘us versus them’ categorisation is Lazar and Lazar’s (2004: 227) analysis of President Bush’s speeches in the post 9/11 period. Their study revealed that Bush had used binary logic to define the outgroup as ‘outcasts’ in order to mark and define them as pariahs of the society. This discursive act which involved other micro strategies of “‘enemy construction’, ‘criminalization’, ‘orientalization’ and ‘(e)vilification’” were all part of Bush’s strategy of creating antagonistic views of the other, while aiming for solidarity of the people in order to legitimate and perpetuate a discourse of moral order (Lazar and Lazar, 2004: 223-242).

In my study of voluntary service, the ‘us/them’ forms of categorisation are evident in Bush’s speeches, and it is a crucial strategy in the construction of collective/national identity. But his use of this type of categorisation varies depending on who he is referring to and what his goals are. In his discourse of welfare reforms, there are elements of ‘us’ when referring to the people called on to volunteer, and ‘them’ for those who need the help of the volunteers, thereby distinguishing ‘us’ as being separate or different from ‘them’ – as ‘us and them’ or ‘us from them’. But elsewhere Bush also uses binary logic in which he constructs

the American people as the 'good people' versus 'others' as 'evil', thereby drawing on the 'us versus them' categorisation. In the discourses of the other actors, e.g. students, volunteer agencies, the 'us and them' categorisation is also present with regard to the construction of group and self-identity. This form of representations of ingroups and outgroups thus is a key discursive strategy for the legitimisation of the social practice of VCS. While in general my analyses will look into the constructions of ingroups and outgroups by the various actors, I also consider the impact of these forms of categorisation on the social relationship between these actors. Therefore specific distinctions are made of the use of the 'us/them' categorisations in the context of the social practice of VCS: (i) an 'us and them' categorisation that is based on similarities and differences; and (ii) an 'us versus them' discourse that is based on the binary logic of antagonistic opposites.

B. Representing Collectivity, Community and Power via the pronoun 'We'

Besides the 'us/them' categorisations, another feature of the linguistic analysis of group identity is the study of the use of the pronoun 'we'. In the previous section, the discussion had included briefly aspects of the use of a 'we discourse' as part of the construction of collective identities, e.g. national identity (Wodak et al., 1993). This type of analysis involves the texts' lexical-grammatical and semantic properties, which has been advocated by Fairclough (1989) as part of his three dimensional analysis of discourse (discussed in Chapter 2).

According to Fairclough (1995: 58), the linguistic analysis focuses on representations, categories of participant and constructions of participant identity or

participant relations. Some examples of this can be seen in Fairclough's (1989; 2000) analyses of political discourse, i.e. his study of Blair's New Labour language and the discourse of Thatcherism. In this thesis, this discursive strategy is a key facet of Bush's speeches. My analysis focuses on his use of 'we' to draw upon the concept of 'community' to construct a collective identity of the people through communalism (and VCS). It evinces his representations of group solidarity as a key strategy in implementing his policy of welfare reform. Fairclough (2000: 35) says that what distinguishes one political discourse from another is in the way in which collective identities are constructed using 'we'. This relates to who the 'we' is and how the pronoun is used. It is thus about "what lines are drawn within the body politic, who is included and who is excluded, who a party claims to speak for, and who it speaks against."

Maitland and Wilson (1987: 495) situate the use of the pronoun system by politicians as a means for them to indicate their solidarity within a particular ideological paradigm as "differing political parties make use of the same system to express not only their own ideological views, but also their opposition to the ideological views of others they may disagree with". For Pennycook (1994: 175):

'We' is always simultaneously inclusive and exclusive, a pronoun of solidarity and of rejection, of inclusion and exclusion. On the one hand it defines a 'we', and on the other it defines a 'you' or a 'they': we Americans, we British, we Republicans, we academics, we who care about their planet, we humans, ... Although this may often be an explicit naming of the 'we', it is also a covert assumption about shared communality.

In her analysis of parliamentary sessions in the House of Commons, ~~figo-~~ Mora (2004: 44ff) found these two characteristics mentioned by Pennycook evident

with 'we' firstly to depict power and distance, while the second theme was around identity, community and persuasion. For these reasons, she concludes that the close relationship between the concept of community and the use of 'we' is a significant feature of political discourse. In general, there are two main uses of the personal pronoun 'we': the inclusive 'we' and the exclusive 'we'. 'We' is exclusive, when it excludes the hearer (we = I + my group), and this is a way of distancing, both from the hearer and from what the speaker intends in his/her address. The exclusive 'we' normally involves power. 'We' is inclusive when it involves both the speaker and the hearer (we = I + you). This entails giving the speaker an authority to speak for others but it also establishes grounds for power differentials (Fairclough, 2000; Wilson, 1990; ~~figo~~-Mora, 2004). In general, politicians' use of personal pronouns is mainly to indicate their 'solidarity -- inclusion within', while at the same time, "their exclusion from ideological groups or political parties" (~~figo~~-Mora, 2004: 37).

Thus in addition to indicating collectivity, 'we' is also used widely to indicate power. Brown and Levinson (1987: 202) distinguish between the episcopal 'we' and the business 'we' that exhibit power relations.

In addition to the widespread use of V pronouns to singular addressees, there is also the widespread phenomenon of 'we' used to indicate 'I' + powerful. Apart from the royal 'we' which most of us don't experience, there is the Episcopal 'we' and the business 'we'. There may be two distinct sources here. One is the 'we' that expresses the nature of the 'corporation sole' or the jural accompaniments of high office — 'we' as office and incumbent and predecessors. Then there is also the 'we' of the group, with roots precisely analogous to the second source of 'you' (plural)... a reminder that I do not stand alone. The business 'we' perhaps attempts to draw on both sources of connotations of power.

figo- Mora (2004: 34) adds that 'we' can be said to be closely linked to the concept of 'community' (Maier, 1995) as it is the only pronoun that can be inclusive and exclusive – i.e., claim authority and communality at the same time. According to Pennycook, although 'we' conveys communalism, it also constructs a 'we/you' or a 'we/they' dichotomy; thus, an analysis of 'we' must also consider the use of other pronouns, e.g. 'you', 'they', 'I', etc. (Pennycook, 1994: 176). Besides establishing collective identities and claiming authority, the strategic use of 'we' by politicians is often to manipulate their audience.

Pennycook (1994: 175) distinguishes pronouns as always political, and 'always involved in struggles over representation'. In his analysis of Tony Blair's New Labour language, Fairclough (2000: 35-37) found that there was ambivalence in Blair's use of 'we' in that he constantly moved between an inclusive 'we' and an exclusive 'we' whereby the ambivalence meant that the pronoun could be taken as reference to the Government or to Britain (or the British). Fairclough adds that "this ambivalence is politically advantageous for a government that wants to represent itself as speaking for the whole nation". Such ambivalent use of 'we' is commonplace in politics and was evident in not just Blair's New Labour language but in the discourse of Thatcherism (Fairclough, 2000: 35-37).

A very good example of the ambivalent use of 'we' can be seen in Churchill's classic speech following the Dunkirk evacuation in 1940 that is quoted by Maitland (1988 in Wilson, 1990: 47). Maitland suggests that when Churchill said 'we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds', the 'we' here

does not include Churchill as at the time of the speech he was already an old man who would not have been enlisted to fight. Furthermore, it was also common knowledge that in the event of an invasion, Churchill would have been air lifted out of the country. Thus, while his use of ‘we’ seems like an inclusive ‘we’, in context, however, these are instances of the exclusive ‘we’ that do not include him or the members of his government. Based on this, Wilson argues that pronouns are far from being categorical, as their use depends on the context of their production, and the speaker’s intention (Wilson, 1970: 76).

In summary, ‘we’ is a useful pronoun for politicians because it incurs various interpretations. Its usage can lead to ambiguities in the meanings they convey (Zupnick, 1994: 340). As Wilson (1990: 76) sees it, politicians make good use of pronouns for the following reasons:

to indicate, accept, deny or distance themselves from responsibility for political action; to reveal ideological bias; to encourage solidarity; to designate and identify those who are supporters (with us) as well as those who are enemies (against us); and to present specific idiosyncratic aspects of the individual politician’s own personality.

C. Self-representation through Face Construction

Besides positive self presentation and negative other delineation through the ‘us/them’ categorisation, and the use of ‘we’ for identity construction, another attribute of political discourse that this thesis adopts as part of its analytical framework, is the use of self-presentation frames – whereby an individual represents him/herself by enacting a self-image as a means by which his/her role and stature

can become legitimated. Thus analysing the self-presentation frames enacted by politicians is common in CDA's investigation of political discourse. This feature is present in Bush's speeches as a key strategy for manufacturing consent. My analyses of Bush's speeches in Chapters 5 and 6 look at his use of frames for positive self-presentation. The comparative analyses of his 2001 Inaugural Address with the 2002 State of the Union Address will reveal that he evoked different frames to suit his policy goals and the national mood of the people and this has aided in gaining people's support for the USA Freedom Corps.

The construction of 'face' is defined by Goffman (cited in Jaworski and Coupland 1999: 18-19) as the

positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes – albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself.

According to Morgan (1997: 276), the construction of face or self-image is discursively manifested through the fitting of one's self-images into what is known as 'frames', which is another concept that Goffman (1974: 247) defines as the organisational premise on which individuals fit their thoughts and actions. By 'frame of the activity', Goffman refers to the organisational premises 'sustained both in the mind and in activity' of the speaker. Adding onto Goffman's definition of 'frame', Morgan (1997: 276) elaborates that in Lakoff's (1987) view, 'frame' is an 'idealized cognitive model' in that

each of these 'frames' of self-presentation is a multi-element cognitive model with rich traditional linguistic and cultural components and associations, including presuppositions and entailments or inferences, through which a society views, understands, structures, and conducts itself and its activities.

Self-presentation frames, therefore, is culturally based and pre-constructed images or pieces used to construct the 'face' for the purpose of presenting and achieving the self-image that the speaker wishes to project to the audience. 'Framing of face' incorporates both culture, history and tradition bound elements that would be shared by both speaker and audience, as a means to present the self in a positive or negative way. It is an important feature of the rhetoric of politicians. Self presentations can be enforced through metaphors, analogies and stories which are cognitively and emotionally loaded as they have cultural, traditional and historical roots (Wagner et. al., 2006). Furthermore, frames can also evoke specific linguistic markers, lexis, discursive style, allusions, metonymy, etc (Morgan, 1997: 296).

Morgan refers to her analysis of the Speaker of The US House of Representative, Newt Gingrich's rhetoric to illustrate how such self-presentation frames are "widely shared in the general culture, in order to serve the social role and political functions of appealing to present and potential supporters, both as a 'good' prototypical American Politician and as a 'good' individual example" (1997: 296). For example, one of the frames used by Gingrich in his speeches includes 'The Just Plain Folks' frame that is found in many inaugural speeches of American politicians. This frame uses informal and colloquial phrases that relate to the general audience, e.g. the impersonal 'you', colloquialisms such as 'lemme' (for let me). Another example is 'The Spokesman for Traditional American Values' that is commonly

used to identify with traditional values of the American people such as religion and family. In Gingrich's speeches, this frame is constructed through his reference to 'children' or 'kids' to signify family as well as other themes such as religion and morality. Morgan (1997: 296) concludes that Gingrich's use of such self presentation frames is a strategic move that is common among experienced politicians. He uses elements that are deeply rooted not only in American culture but also in American political culture. For Morgan (1997: 297-99), frames such as these enable their users to embed cultural and historical elements, which add to the advantage of positive self representations as they are calling upon the support of people based on conventions and shared beliefs, values, attitudes, etc. of speaker and hearer. In this sense, frame enactments of self-presentation are one way to legitimate ideologies of politicians.

3.4 Legitimation

In this section, I discuss the third key concept for this thesis besides 'context' and 'recontextualisation', namely, legitimation. Legitimation is an important concept to critical discourse analysts in their study of social inequality and the discourse of emancipation. It was also discussed in the previous section as part of the recontextualisation process as an element of 'additions'. The research questions stated in Chapter 1 illustrate my aim of uncovering the different strategies used by the various actors, e.g. Bush, teachers, students, to legitimate the social practice of VCS. The analytic tools discussed in the previous sections, i.e. 'us/them' categorisation, use of 'we' and self presentation frames are some of the ways in

which ideologies of powerful groups, e.g. politicians, come to be legitimated. In this section, I discuss the concept of legitimation, and describe Van Leeuwen's (2007) framework for the analysis of the discourse of legitimation.

According to Berger and Luckmann (1966: 111-12), when human experience is transmitted, the basic legitimating 'explanations' are 'built into the vocabulary' of their 'system of linguistic objectification'. As Fairclough sees it, all forms of social order require legitimation as how things exist or are done get justified and legitimized. For him, textual analysis is the means by which legitimation can be identified and analyzed (Fairclough, 2003: 219). According to Van Dijk (1998: 257-60), legitimation implies certain features. It is institutional as it does not only involve persons in power but may also include groups or organisations, thereby making it a collective action that inevitably justifies the action of the institution. Legitimation presupposes norms and values and this may make it an action condoned and accepted to be within the boundaries of law, as well as the moral order of society. It therefore is political in intent and involves ideologies of those in power and is linked with agentivity, i.e. 'who does the power'. It can also legitimize asymmetrical power relations, e.g. in the way that social groups legitimate and establish ideologies.

Van Leeuwen (2007: 93-94) explains that legitimation provides the answer/s to the questions of 'why', "'Why should we do this?' and 'Why should we do this in this way?'" He established a framework for analysing the language of legitimation

by distinguishing the following main categories (also see Van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999: 104-05):

- i. *Authorisation* is legitimation by reference to authority and tradition, custom and law, and of persons in whom institutional authority of some kind is vested. It provides the answer to the questions, 'Why is it so?' or 'Why must it be so?' with 'Because I say so, or Because so-and-so says so', where the 'I' or 'so-and-so' is someone in whom institutionalised authority is vested, e.g. a parent, teacher, doctor, an expert, etc.
- ii. *Moral evaluation* is legitimation by (often very oblique) reference to value systems. Moral abstraction legitimation is realised through substitution rather than addition, i.e. an activity is referred to by means of an expression that distils from it a quality that links it to a discourse of values, thereby moralising the activity.
- iii. *Rationalisations* legitimation is by reference to the goals and uses of institutionalised social action and to the knowledge society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity. This can be done by reference either to the utility of the social practice of some part of it (instrumental rationalization), or to the facts of life (theoretical rationalization). It can be established as commonsense, or by an expert/specialist who elaborates on knowledge from the

field used for legitimating contemporary educational practices, e.g. educational psychology.

- iv. *Mythopoesis* is legitimation conveyed through narratives whose outcomes reward legitimate actions and punish non-legitimate actions. It is the legitimation achieved through telling of stories. According to Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999: 110), telling of stories is one of the most important strategies in racist and anti-Semitic discourses in non-official contexts.

Van Leeuwen (2007: 93-97) further distinguishes other sub-categories of legitimation, e.g. *authorisation* is divided into *personal authority authorisation*, *expert authority authorisation*, etc. These categories can occur separately or together in combination. They act as both legitimising and de-legitimising strategies and can be found in text and talk in various ways through explicit or implicit ways. These categories were used in Van Leeuwen and Wodak's (1999) study of immigration laws in Austria in which they examined the official letters used to reject immigrants' application for reunion with their family. Their findings showed that 'moral evaluation' is the most common form of legitimation, followed by 'authorisation' and 'rationalisation'. This finding is consistent with Habermas' (1971) view that legality is usually grounded in moral order (Van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999: 111). In a similar vein, my analysis in Chapter 5 will illustrate Bush's use of a moral evaluation discourse to legitimate his program for welfare reform. But the comparative analyses of his call for service messages (2001 and 2002 in Chapters 5

and 6 respectively) will also show his use of ‘personal authority legitimation’ to gain people’s support for his agenda. Van Leeuwen includes another element to his perspective on legitimation, what he calls ‘legitimation discourse’ – discourse that legitimates social practices (Van Leeuwen, 2007).

In my analyses in Chapters 5-8, I look at the representation of the various actors in order to uncover the different discourses that they employ to legitimate the social practice of VCS, these are better known as legitimation discourses. According to Van Leeuwen, legitimation discourses can be grounded in various other discourses which can legitimate or lead to social practices which unify people in their actions. He illustrates this point by using Kress’ (1985b: 15-17) analysis of a speech by Helen Caldicott at an anti-nuclear rally. Kress found that the speaker had drawn on various discourses, some of which were in conflict with each other. Van Leeuwen points out that the discursive differences in the speech may not in actual fact unify the diverse groups that attended the rally, but that the participants were unified in what they were doing there: they were all doing something similar -- that of attending the rally and partaking in the anti-nuclear demonstrations. Thus in considering legitimation, we need to also consider the interconnections between social practices and the discourses that legitimate them (Van Leeuwen, 2007: 108-110). (This view of legitimation discourse and other discourse are based on Van Leeuwen’s perspectives on the plurality of discourse as socially constructed knowledge, discussed in Chapter 2.)

3.5 Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter, I set out to outline the analytic approach I have adopted for my study of the ideological nature of the social practice of voluntary service in modern-day America. I have described the various tools that are used in this study by drawing upon the three key concepts of ‘context’, ‘recontextualisation’ and ‘legitimation’. I started with ‘context’ and focused specifically on Wodak’s (2001a) synchronic/diachronic approach for the analysis of context, and Hyatt’s (2005) four category model for the analysis of temporal context. I then moved on to the discourse analytic approach by Van Leeuwen (1993a, 1995, 1996, 2007) for the investigation of social practice, e.g. recontextualisation, representation of social actors and social action. This section also included the ‘us and them’ categorisation for positive self presentation of ingroups and negative other presentation of outgroups, the use of ‘we’ for the construction of collectivity, and a review of frame enactment for positive self presentation by politicians. I discussed the analytical framework for the study of legitimation, e.g. Van Leeuwen’s categories of legitimation and legitimation discourse. Taking on board Van Dijk’s (1998: 5-6) view that a study of ideology must look at “what ideologies look like, how they work, and how they are created, changed and reproduced”, in the next chapter, I start my investigation of the current practice of VCS in America by looking at the temporal contextual elements of social practice.

We're a nation. We're a nation of resolve. We're a nation that can't be cowered by evil-doers. I've got faith in the American people. If the American people had seen what I had seen in New York City, you'd have great faith, too. You'd have faith in the hard work of the rescuers; you'd have great faith because of the desire for people to do what's right for America; you'd have great faith because of the compassion and love that our fellow Americans are showing each other in times of need. (George W. Bush, 'Today We Mourned, Tomorrow We Work' September 16th, 2001)

Chapter 4

The Temporal Contextual Elements of the Social Practice of VCS in Contemporary America

4.1 Introduction

CDA is based on the assumption that all texts/discourses are historical and can only be fully understood when studied in context, because context includes “social-psychological, political and ideological components” of texts (Meyer, 2001). Context refers to the environment in which the text is constructed, exists and functions. Bourdieu (1991) points out that it would be meaningless to analyse political discourse by focusing on the utterances alone without taking into consideration the socio-political conditions under which the discourse is produced and received (cited in Hyatt, 2005: 515). According to Blommaert (2005: 39), “critical analysis is always and necessarily the analysis of situated, contextualised, language, and context itself becomes a crucial methodological and theoretical issue

in the development of a critical study of language”. All these views evince my own argument in this thesis that the analysis of context is crucial for my investigation of VCS in contemporary America.

In this chapter, I narrate the different temporal contextual elements that inform my investigation of this social practice. This narrative is structured based on Hyatt’s four-category model. My starting point for the temporal context is Bush’s call for service and the launching of the USA Freedom Corps in his 2002 State of the Union Address, a speech that was delivered in the wake of September 11. In Section 4.2, I begin with the ‘immediate socio-political context’ (Hyatt, 2005: 521). This involves a comprehensive account of the nation’s mood in the days following September 11. It is an account based on secondary sources that brings together the views of scholars as a flashback of the nationalist and patriotic mood of the nation in the aftermath. This upsurge was said to have been triggered by three factors, namely, September 11, the media’s representation of the events in the aftermath and the public addresses by the Bush government. The 2002 State of the Union Address, which is better known as the ‘Axis of Evil Speech’ (Edwards, 2004: 175) was also one of the main speeches that were delivered during this period. It is said to have contributed to the nation’s patriotic and nationalistic upsurge (Entman, 2003; Kellner, 2004). This speech is my main data in Chapter 6. My analysis will show that this ‘immediate socio-political context’ is reflected in the strategies used by Bush in this speech to legitimate the USA Freedom Corps.

In Section 4.3, I discuss the ‘medium-term socio-political context’ (Hyatt, 2005: 521), which considers other influential features of the context that have survived a longer period but still have a direct influence on the text being investigated. This includes the discussion of Bush’s early developments as a ‘compassionate conservative’, his shift in rhetorical style after Clinton’s impeachment trial, the significance of September 11 to his popularity and rhetorical shift, and his policy of faith based agenda for welfare reform. This account provides the background to my analysis of his 2001 Inaugural Address in Chapter 5, which I consider as part of his pre-9/11 call for service in which he had asked people to volunteer to support the faith based agenda. Thus, by looking at the developments of ‘compassionate conservatism’, this account enables us to see the link between the USA Freedom Corps as being part of his long term plans to engage people in VCS, and as part of his faith based policy. This ‘medium-term socio-political’ account of the context leads us to a better understanding of the ideology that underlies the USA Freedom Corps and Bush’s rationale for engaging people in voluntary service.

Another facet of the ‘medium-term socio-political context’ in this study involves looking at the impact/outcome of the conflation of Bush’s two programs for welfare reform (the faith based agenda and the USA Freedom Corps) on poverty and welfare reform, between the years 2000 and 2004. This involves the socio-economic perspective that brings together the views of journalists, sociologists, economists, the public, etc for a better understanding of the ideology that underpins compassionate conservatism and the faith based agenda. While my analyses of his

speeches in Chapters 5 to 7 will reveal the discursive manifestations of his ideology, this contextual element will show the ideology from the perspective of implementation of his policies. In this way, we can view the broader scope of both the USA Freedom Corps and the Faith Based Agenda as policies of welfare reform from the stage of policy legitimation, implementation and some of the outcomes of these programs.

The third category of temporal context is what Hyatt (2005: 522) calls the 'contemporary socio-political individuals, organisations and structures', and this involves any actors/agents that may have a direct influence on the representations of the text under investigation. In Section 4.4, I look at the origins of 'compassionate conservatism' which leads to Marvin Olasky, one of the key figures behind the rhetoric of compassionate conservatism and its policy of Faith Based Initiative. This account provides the backdrop to my analysis of Bush's speeches in Chapters 5 and 7 by linking the right-wing Christian ideology that underpins compassionate conservatism and its policies. The main argument of Olasky is that the modern welfare state needs to be abolished and replaced with the work of religious organizations to rehabilitate the poor. This view that underlies Bush's own stance (evident in his speeches) enables us to see his programs as 'programs of conduct' (Foucault 1991a) which aim for regulation and control of the poor.

The final temporal element in this chapter is Hyatt's fourth category – 'epoch'. Another key argument of this study is that September 11 has been

strategically used by Bush to implement his programs of VCS, and his main discursive strategy has been through the construction of an episteme – the Foucauldian (1972) view of something being positioned as the truth within a particular era. This is a crucial facet in Bush’s 2002 State of the Union Address which my analysis will show had assisted in legitimating his programs for welfare reform. Thus, in Section 4.5, this brief account will discuss how epistemes are constructed by those in power that lead to changes in the practices of society.

4.2 Immediate Socio-political Context

This section brings together the ‘immediate socio-political context’ – the current scenario of what took place in the nation and especially in relation to the media’s account of the events in the days following the attacks. This account is based on secondary sources to narrate the media’s role, its representations of the events in the months after the attacks, its impact on the nation’s mood and link to the political addresses of the Bush administration in the aftermath. In Chapter 6, my analysis of the 2002 State of the Union Address will show how this ‘immediate socio-political context’ had a direct impact on the discourse of voluntary service after September 11.

4.2.1 The Aftermath of September 11

According to MacArthur (2003), the American news media essentially repeated without analysis Bush’s and his administration’s declaration about

terrorism on the day following the attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon (cited in Altheide, 2004: 296). The media reiterated President Bush's stance of framing the event as 'acts of war' and the perpetrators as 'terrorists' that was evident in his September 12th speech to the nation. In this speech, Bush's message also called upon the American people to be strong and to 'unite' behind his resolve (Graham et al., 2004; Lazar and Lazar, 2004; Montgomery, 2005). The epigraph for this chapter exemplifies the double message of war and call for unity that was dominant in Bush's addresses to the people in the days following the attacks. This message was more explicit in his 20th September speech in which he had declared not only to the American people but also to the world, "You're either with us, or against us" (G.W. Bush, 20th September 2001). Thus, taking its cue from the Bush administration's framing of the events, the media expanded on these messages. In this way, the media is said to have played a significant role in defining the nation's mood in the wake of the attacks.

For example, Kellner (2004: 50-51) describes that the television networks intensified the 'war fever' by featuring such slogans as "War on America," and "America's New War," that were comparable to Bush's resolve of war. Furthermore, the media expressed nationalist sentiments and rallied for patriotism such as the country had not seen since World War II, with slogans such as 'United We Stand' and 'God Bless America' (Kellner, 2004: 50-51). In this way, the general account of the media of the attacks reflected its partisanship for the Bush administration and its

nationalist appeal. According to Altheide (2004: 300-301):

With network and local nightly newscasts draped in the colors of the flag and anchors wearing flags on their lapels, reporting news events primarily through the viewpoint of the United States – as ‘us’ and ‘we’, news organizations presented content and form that was interpreted by the publisher of Harper’s Magazine as sending “signals to the viewers to some extent that the media are acting as an arm of the government” (Rutenberg 2001). Journalists’ repetitious patriotic messages supported the national identity and the communal definition of “danger” and “victim” that were consistent with a terrorism world.

Themes of national identity in the press’ accounts of the event were equivalent to those by the Bush government. For example, conservative news organizations, such as Fox News Channel, incorporated a more pro-American viewpoint by focusing on national identity and patriotism. Hutcheson et al., (2004: 46) suggest that the commercial press was patriotic due to

a variety of influences upon media from within (ethnocentric bias), above (government officials, bipartisanship), below (audience expectations) contributed to engender a journalistic discourse that strongly affirmed a sense of US national identity in the weeks following September 11.

In times of crisis, U.S. journalists as citizens have also been known to have a greater tendency to reflect ethnocentric biases in their reporting (Tuckman, 1978 cited in Hutcheson et al., 2004: 31). In fact, such nationalist themes are particularly evident in the coverage of crises that involve a “perceived threat to national interest or national security” (Brookes 1999 in Hutcheson et. al., 2004: 31). Analysis of news reports and advertisements in the aftermath also suggests that “popular culture and mass media depictions of fear, patriotism, consumption, and victimization

contributed to the emergence of a national identity and collective action...”

(Altheide, 2002: 290). With its constant analogies with Pearl Harbour, war hysteria, fear, patriotism and most importantly a collective American national identity were the order of the day for the media.

For the American people, the media was their means to be connected to every minute detail of the progress of the rescue operations on Ground Zero, as well as to be up to date with the developments in the White House. Studies by the Pew Research Centre¹ showed the highest level of sustained public interest in the media and its coverage in more than a decade (Pew Research Center, 2001). Besides, the public also showed a higher regard for the press with a more positive view of the media (Pew Research Centre, 2003).² The surveys conclude that following the attacks, the media rose in popularity and was more influential in the lives of Americans.

Amidst such influence by the press, a patriotic fervour swept over America, embracing the resolves of the President and his elite team members that were also evident in the patriotic stance of the press. For example, flags were sold out in stores and businesses advertised patriotic slogans such as ‘God Bless America’ (Hutcheson

¹ This study by the Pew Research Centre— ‘Terror Coverage boosts news media’s image’ – states that well into December 2001, more than half of the sample of US adults surveyed, had indicated that they were “very closely” following news about the September 11th attacks and the war on terrorism.

² This study by the Pew Research Centre in 2003 – ‘Strong Opposition to Media Cross-Ownership Emerges Public Wants Neutrality and Pro-American’ – states that more people had described the press as standing up for America. The survey continued that the September 11 attacks were also a turning point for a better perception about the journalists with more people describing the press as caring than did so prior to the attacks. Thus, ratings of accuracy and professionalism of the press rose sharply following the terrorist attacks. The survey concluded by stating that most Americans had confirmed the growing influence of the media in their lives.

et. al., 2004: 30). According to findings of a post 9/11 national survey, the September 11 attacks had some very positive effects on the American psyche. The survey – ‘How America Responds’³ that was released in October 2001 – stated that the attacks have contributed to a sense of cohesion among the American people. The findings continue that while patriotic feelings had increased, the people’s sense of personal safety and security had been shaken, and this had led to a sense of community and shared fate which has an impact on the way the people will respond to the government’s programmes.

While the surveys indicate that there had been a rise in patriotism and solidarity due to September 11, scholars argue that this is due to both the media’s representations and the political rhetoric after the attacks. Studies show that in order to gain people’s support for his ‘War On Terror’, Bush had focused on strategies to increase the nationalist sentiments (Graham, et. al., 2004; Kellner, 2004; Entman, 2004, Hutcheson et. al., 2004). One good example is the quote used as the epigraph in this chapter, whereby Bush’s exhortation for American nationalism is evident through his repeated use of the phrase ‘We’re a nation’.

Kellner (2004: 46) states that Bush and his elite members had continued to refer to the images of the September 11 attacks as part of their appeal for nationalism; these images were also said to have been a part of the media scene in

³ ‘How America Responds’ was a survey conducted by the University of Michigan Institute for Social Research (ISR), which is said to be the world’s largest academic survey and research organization. The survey stated that “more than 90 percent of those surveyed agree or strongly agree that they are proud to be an American, and nearly 60 percent agree that the world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like Americans”. This indicates higher level of patriotic feelings than reported in other national surveys in the past five years. The findings also state that “76 percent of those, whose personal sense of safety was shaken, said they would be willing to give up some civil liberties in return for greater security”.

the days after the attack. Thus, the strategic communication of political leaders contributed to the nation's mood and the use of such nation affirming rhetoric did more than just generate support for Bush's 'war on terrorism'. It "helped foster public support for – or at least acquiescence to – government measures that curtailed civil liberties and expanded federal law enforcement powers in the name of national security...in a larger sense, the linkage of national identity to national security helped to create a climate in which a dissent and opposition became equated with anti-Americanism...." (Hutchens et al., 2004: 47).

In summary, the September 11 attacks, the media's coverage of the events and its patriotic stance, coupled with the political rhetoric of the Bush government had led America into a patriotic zeal in order to expand upon the nationalist sentiments and communal values of the Americans. Bush had called on the American people to serve by joining his USA Freedom Corps, in such a temporal context – in a climate when dissent symbolised anti-Americanism, amidst such fierce comradeship and nationalism amongst the people and with the nation shaken and troubled in the wake of the attacks. My analysis in Chapter 6 will show how this 'immediate socio-political context' is reflected in Bush's discourse of voluntary service. It is my argument that his strategic use of this context has aided in the successful legitimation and implementation of the USA Freedom Corps and the mobilisation of people in VCS.

4.3 Medium Term Socio-Political Context

In this section I look at the significance of Bush's political philosophy and ideology – 'compassionate conservatism' – for his national service program, the USA Freedom Corps. The impact of the September 11 attacks on the popularity of compassionate conservatism, the rhetorical style shift and policy implementation are discussed in this section. This account provides a better understanding of Bush's ideology that underpins the current practice of VCS under the patronage of the USA Freedom Corps.

4.3.1 Compassionate Conservative Rhetoric and September 11

In the days following the attacks, Bush's popularity was said to have soared (Altheide, 2004) and one contributing factor has been his rhetorical style of 'compassionate conservatism'. The rhetoric itself was well in place before the attacks, but its success is said to have been shaped by the exigency of the attacks. According to Kuypers et al., (2003: 5), compassionate conservatism came to the fore when the Republicans were in dire need of a change in their rhetorical strategy as both President Clinton and the media had painted them to be 'hard hearted and obstructionist'. Kuypers et al., add that due to his caring and sympathetic rhetoric, Clinton had become very popular with the people while the conservatives on the other hand were perceived as "cold and uncaring".

But when Clinton's impeachment procedures went underway, this changed

the political landscape, and the Republicans adopted the political philosophy of compassionate conservatism in order to improve their public image. This incurred a moderate sounding rhetoric that reorients traditional conservatism through words such as 'caring', 'hope' and 'compassion', which embody a discourse of feelings and emotions. And after September 11, when the American people needed comforting words that 'were caring yet strong', apparently, they found solace in Bush's compassionate language which "showed him grieving both those lost and those suffering, yet never sacrificing his fundamental belief in justice" (Kuypers et al., 2003: 2-3). In this way, it is said to have increased Bush's popularity and restored people's faith in the conservative party and its policies.

The main agenda of compassionate conservatism was to promote the work of charities and faith-based organisations as partners to government in the provision of social services (Tomasi, 2004, Kuypers et al., 2003). As far back as January 1999, as a presidential candidate, George W. Bush had made enlisting the people in voluntary engagement part of his policy for welfare reform. Upon his inauguration in the year 2000, in implementing compassionate conservatism, his first measure was to establish his White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, and this became the flagship of his political identity at the federal level (Tomasi, 2004: 324).

Kuypers et al., (2003: 20-1) argue that compassionate conservatives had a desire to create a virtuous society through conservative means. For Tomasi (2004: 322-23), Bush's approach referred to "a new, more compassionate form of

conservatism” that seeks to fund charitable and faith-based groups:

Rather than advocate a policy of strict or no-aid separation between church and state, Bushian compassionate conservatives... argue that government should make public resources readily available to religious groups and other civil society organizations that wish to provide social services. (Tomasi, 2004: 323)

In April 2002,⁴ promoting compassionate conservatism, Bush declared his measure for welfare reform of enlisting faith and charitable organisations in the delivery of social provisions as the new approach to fight poverty. His ‘Charitable Choice’ is a provision of the 1996 Personal and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act through which government money is used to enlist religious and other non-profit organisations. Although the cooperation between government and religious organisations to serve the poor is not new (Monsma, 1996), previous federal rules for such cooperation were restrictive, uncertain, or arbitrary in that many Christian ministries rejected federal dollars for fear of losing their spiritual mission (Tomasi, 2004: 323). According to Tomasi, Bush’s measure also came under strong opposition from other party politicians and even the Senate because it violated church-state separation and was just another means to cut back on social services while providing tax benefits for the rich. In reply Bush had stated, “religious groups must be a part of the solution to society ills, as a compassionate society is one which recognizes the great power of faith” (Bruni and Laurie, Jan 2001, NY Times).

⁴ Bush’s speech to ‘Promote Compassionate Conservatism’ was delivered in April 2002, and is one of the main texts analyzed in Chapter 7, to uncover the ideology underpinning compassionate conservatism.

Bush's 'Armies of Compassion Bill' was not well received and therefore stalled in the U.S. Senate (Tomasi, 2004: 324). In December 2002, Bush decided to give the Bill a jumpstart. Through the issuance of an executive order (EO), he bypassed Congress to advance his Faith Based initiative to be implemented as law. Longest (2002) states that traditionally the advancement of policy formulation leads from placing it on the governmental agenda and moving it subsequently into legislation and as formal law. But Bush's advancement of the Faith Based Initiative through an EO, while not formally enacted by Congress (Tomasi, 2004), had been implemented into law, due to the exigency of the attacks. Newlin (2002) explains that September 11 shifted the nation's attention from domestic policies to homeland security. When disaster relief in the wake of the attacks brought about a national swell in religiosity, this gave Bush the opportunity he needed to expedite his otherwise stalled policy from its formulation phase into implementation stage with the force of law (Newlin 2002).

As partners to the government in the provision of social services, the non profit business, education, faith-based and other sectors including charities, recruited volunteers to undertake their programs. In order to enable the work of these organisations and get his agenda underway, Bush⁵ called on the American people to be part of his fight against poverty. He had attempted to engage people in

⁵ Bush called on the people to be a part of his welfare reform policy of faith based initiative in his speech to an audience at the University of Notre Dame in May 2001. This speech is one of the main texts analysed in Chapter 7, in which I aim to investigate the ideology that underlies compassionate conservatism and its policy for welfare reform.

volunteerism in his 2001 Inaugural Address.⁶ But it was his call to the Americans made in the aftermath of the attacks via his 2002 State of the Union Address⁷ that has ensured people's engagement in VCS. The medium-term socio-political context discussed here provides the background to my analyses of these speeches in Chapters 5 and 6.

4.3.2 Socio-economic-political Perspectives on Welfare Reform and Poverty

The purpose of this section is to situate the service initiatives on a broader scale with a focus on poverty and welfare reform. This account will help support my argument that to study the ideological workings of the government and its policies, it is also necessary to investigate the outcomes of the policies, what I call 'the socio-economic dimensions'. This account is still part of the 'medium-term socio-political context' as it informs us of the outcomes of Bush's policy implementation and provides the background for my analysis of his speeches in Chapter 7, in which I aim to uncover the ideology of compassionate conservatism and its policies. This is a comprehensive account based on secondary sources and brings together the 'voices' of journalists, sociologists, non-profit organisations, students, etc.

⁶ The 2001 Inaugural Address is the main text analysed in Chapter 5. I look at his call to people asking them to be 'citizens' to consider how this reflects his main agenda of enlisting the people as part of his faith based initiative.

⁷ The 2002 State of the Union Address is the main text analyzed in Chapter 6. In a comparative analysis, I investigate his call to the people to serve and show that this is also part of this agenda for welfare reform.

Bush's approach for welfare reform in the form of the Faith Based Agenda/USA Freedom Corps, since their implementation, is said to have further exacerbated hunger and homelessness (National Students Against Hunger and Homelessness Report, 2004). Official reports of poverty and hunger⁸ show an alarming increase in the number of people at risk of hunger and homelessness in the United States. The number of people living in poverty has increased by 1.3 million from 2002 to 2003 (US Census Bureau, 2003).⁹ Rates of hunger are said to be rising along with poverty.¹⁰ 36.3 million people are currently food insecure, an increase of 1.4 million people from 2002 to 2003 and an increase of 3.1 million since 2000 (US Department of Agriculture, 2003).¹¹

Poverty in America today is said to be quite different from that of the past – the former characterised by a new kind of poverty and a new breed of the poor known as 'the working poor' (Shipler, 2005).¹² This refers to millions of Americans who even though employed full-time in one or more jobs, have insufficient incomes to afford food, clothing and housing. They are also those who have somewhat

⁸ According to the 2004 National Survey of Hunger and Homelessness in America, the rates of hunger are rising with poverty.

⁹ US Census Bureau is quoted in the 2004 National Survey of Hunger and Homelessness in America.

¹⁰ According to Martin Wolk, Chief economics correspondent for MSNBC, (26, Aug 2004), poverty rose for a third straight year in 2003.

¹¹ US Department of Agriculture is quoted in the 2004 National Survey of Hunger and Homelessness in America.

¹² It is not about those living in shacks or begging on the street, but about people from many walks of life who find themselves, often unexpectedly, struggling to meet their most basic needs (Johnson, et. al., The Columbus Despatch, June 2004).

become 'invisible' as once off-welfare, the government no longer keeps track of them to see if they have become self-sufficient (Pascale, 1995).¹³

Despite the fact that the primary causes for the rise in hunger and homelessness are unemployment, low income, high housing costs and lack of government benefits (see Hunger and Homelessness report 2004),¹⁴ Bush's compassionate measure which he calls his 'new vision for fighting poverty' to 'fully transform welfare in America' has placed more responsibility on 'faith-based charities as partners' to government (George W. Bush, April 2002), rather than focus on improving welfare services, the economy with more jobs, etc. His measure instead encourages the poor to be dependent on charities and religious organisations rather than on the government or its welfare services.

Besides the move away from government responsibilities, the financial side of the faith based initiatives does not benefit the poor either, as more federal money is being channelled into these organisations instead of social services. By giving tax breaks and government dollars to charity, Bush is handing over democratic entitlements into 'the hands of charity portfolio managers' (Russell, 1999: 4).¹⁵ To

¹³ For example although more mothers on welfare have been working since 1996, most of the job growth for welfare recipients has been in below-poverty wage jobs and the 1996 'Welfare to Work Provisions' did not guarantee the people a life out of poverty (Reese, 2001).

¹⁴ Reports in 2004 also show that there is a marked decline in new employment, therefore once again while people are getting off welfare, they are not necessarily getting out of poverty¹⁴ (Candinsky and Johnson, Columbus Dispatch, June 2004; Wolk, 26 August, 2004: MSNBC).

¹⁵ Russell (2001) argues that this move requires Bush to "expand the federal charitable deduction to taxpayers who do not itemize, permit a credit against state taxes for contributions to charities addressing poverty, raise the cap on corporate charitable deductions from 10% to 15%

offset the loss of the tax revenue, the administration has amassed record deficit and trimmed social spending (Claxton et. al., The Detroit News Special Report, September 2004).¹⁶ According to the report, the programs most affected by such cuts include job training, housing, higher education and an array of social services – the programs that provide safety nets for the poor. Many of these programs which are critical elements of the ‘Welfare to Work Provisions’ were already badly underfunded.¹⁷ Russell (2003) says that, Bush’s cut on welfare services has led to governors facing the worst fiscal crisis since WWII.¹⁸ The federal government’s fiscal problems have come in the form of budget deficits and the urgency of the War On Terror since the September 11 attacks (Mazzetti, 1999, Los Angeles Times).

While the Bush administration had long advocated more support for the military, September 11 increased the need for a bigger budget (Altheide, 2004: 303).

of a company's taxable income". "In 1997 the total revenues of Operating Public Charities in the United States was \$649 billion, about 12% of the GDP, none of which was taxed". She says approximately "one third of every dollar donated is subsidized by the federal government". In this way, public revenue that should be for welfare entitlements becomes lost to non-profits.

¹⁶ The Detroit News Special Report – 'Working poor suffer under Bush tax cuts' – states that "to help pay for federal tax cuts, many programs that served the working poor were reduced or eliminated as the deficit grew. This report shows that the amount of money millions of Americans now pay to cover such expenses as child care, housing and college education is greater than the amount they saved through the tax cuts".

¹⁷ And today the loss of welfare services has cost the 'working poor' more hardship as child care and housing can consume more than 80 percent of their income. The Detroit News Special Report (September 2004) states that hundreds of thousands of people across the nation who qualify for assistance are on waiting lists or get turned away when they apply for help with child care, meals or utility bills. This has been a crucial factor in raising poverty a further 10% since 2000.

¹⁸ According to Russell (2003) when the National Governors Association asked Bush for new federal financial assistance for state Medicaid programs, Bush turned them down saying the federal government has fiscal problems of its own and could not bail out the states (New York Times, 2/25/03). In the last year of the Clinton administration, the federal budget showed an annual surplus of more than \$230 billion. Under Bush however, the government returned to deficit spending. The annual deficit reached a record level of \$374 billion in 2003 and then a further record of \$413 billion in 2004.

This trend of reduced federal and state spending for social programs has had a tremendous impact on charitable agencies as well – more people in poverty have turned to churches and charities, government funds and resources to charitable agencies have also been on the decline and this has further increased poverty in America.¹⁹ Thus, while the number of shelters and charities have increased and become crucial in fighting poverty, most of the agencies have reported that they have had to turn away food requests and requests for shelter due to lack of funds, mostly from government sources.²⁰ The survey continues that despite the rise in demand for shelters and food requests, the Bush Administration has continued to propose billion-dollar cuts.

While Bush represents himself as a compassionate leader and his policies as benefiting Americans, his policies have put many communities in crisis. With little aid from the government and with charitable agencies now strained for resources, compassionate conservatism has further increased hunger and homelessness in America. This account here has been critical for my argument that Bush's programs are in fact programs of conduct that aim for regulation and control rather than to improve the economic conditions of the people in poverty.

¹⁹ The National Student Campaign against Hunger and Homelessness (2004) is an organisation that aims to increase student action against hunger and homelessness. It was established in 1985 and has worked for over 20 years and engaged thousands of volunteers. The report states that in 2002 and 2003, nearly every state experienced a fiscal crisis – many dealt with these crises by cutting budget allocations for social programs, including grants to homeless shelters and feeding programs (National Student Campaign Against Hunger and Homelessness Survey of Hunger and Homelessness in America, 2004: 14).

²⁰ The main set of federal programs that provide funding to agencies addressing homelessness is the McKinney Vento Homeless Assistance Programs, that were created by Congress in 1987, to provide grants for homeless shelters, transitional housing, permanent housing, health care, job training and other programs that provide assistance specifically to people experiencing homelessness. Funding for this program has long been inadequate, hovering around \$1 to \$ 1.2 billion since 1996, despite a dramatic increase in homelessness during that time. In 2004, Congress cut \$19 million from the programs (in Hunger and Homelessness Report 2004).

4.4 Contemporary Socio-political Individuals, Organisations and Structures

So far my discussion has centred on Bush's compassionate agenda from the perspectives of its policy formulation and implementation. One crucial element that surfaces from the account is the fact that while Bush has defined himself as being different from past conservatives through his moderate or compassionate rhetoric and with policies that supposedly lean towards the left, the socio-economic account shows that his approach in fighting poverty is actually a measure to realise the life-long pledge of all conservatives to end the welfare state. According to Kuypers et al., (2003), compassionate conservatism really is not a shift in its ideology but only in its policy and style. Compassionate conservatism, they add, is a prototype of traditional conservatism in the way it embodies traditional conservative principles.

Compassionate conservatism is emphatically not a moderate conservatism. Rather, it is a shift in rhetoric and policy emphasis necessitated by the exigencies of political circumstance. In terms of principles, compassionate conservatism is quintessential conservatism. What truly sets it apart from more traditional conservative rhetoric is that it is also a pro-active actualization of conservative principles in American political history. (Kuypers et al., 2003: 21)

In this section, I explore one key individual who has influenced Bush's redefinition of conservatism. Hyatt (2005) considers individuals, organisations or structures as important contextual elements that provide us with a deeper understanding of the text being investigated. Through the account presented here, we get a very important perspective of Bush's policies and ideology – the fundamental

Christian right wing agenda that is based on the long-standing argument of conservatives for several decades that the modern Welfare State was not helping America's poor, but causing a moral and social decline (Kuypers et al., 2003: 4).

4.4.1 Marvin Olasky and Compassionate Conservatism

According to Bartkowski et al., (2003), the origins of compassionate conservatism can be traced back to Marvin Olasky, a Texas University professor of journalism who is a key figure in the conservative movement. He has been variously described as "... 'a leading thinker and propagandist of the Christian right' by The Texas Observer and ...the 'godfather of compassionate conservatism' by the New York Times" (King, 1999, Bush Files). Olasky, a born again Christian, is better known as a proponent of the 19th century style charity over entitlements of the welfare state who believes that spirituality is the best tool to fight poverty. Olasky first became prominent when his book 'The Tragedy of American Compassion' (1992) was endorsed as the 'most important book on welfare and social policy in a decade' by the Former Secretary of Education, William Bennet (Safire, 1999, NY Times Magazine, 1999).

In this book, Olasky argues that the Welfare State has done too much damage to society and that the care of the poor must be the responsibility of private individuals and organisations, particularly faith-based organisations. Such organisations, says Olasky, have shown clear success in the past in comparison to

government welfare programs. His book became more important when Republican Speaker Newt Gingrich made it the main text for every Republican freshman representative in the 1994 Congress. The book itself has been criticised for lacking in research and substantial evidence and as being more dependent on “anecdotal histories” but its supporters have lauded it as a key book in defining compassionate conservatism (King, 1999 Bush Files). In this book he offers a historical account of public policy and argues against government programmes, as they are portrayed as counterproductive and ineffective because they are disconnected from the poor, while private charity is said to have the power to change lives as it allows for a personal connection between the giver and the recipient (Olasky 2000; also see King, 1999). In an interview, Olasky concluded:

Today’s poor in the United States are the victims and perpetrators of illegitimacy and abandonment, of family non-formation and malformation, alienation and loneliness; but they are not suffering from thirst, hunger or nakedness, except by choice, or insanity, or parental abuse”. (King, 1999: 2)

Olasky’s connection to President George W. Bush is evident by way of another of his books ‘Compassionate Conservatism: What is it, What it does, How it can transform America’ that was published in the year 2000. This book has both a foreword and afterword by Bush. In this afterword, which is a reprint of a campaign speech, Bush promised to bring religious groups into the government agenda.

I visit churches and charities serving their neighbors nearly everywhere I go in this country. And nothing is more exciting or encouraging. Every day they prove that our worst problems are not hopeless or endless. Everyday they perform miracles of renewal. Wherever we can we must expand their role and reach, without changing them or corrupting them. It is the next, bold step of welfare reform... We must apply our conservative and free-market ideas to

the job of helping real human beings. (“Governor G.W. Bush’s Explanation of Compassionate Conservatism” – Afterword to Marvin Olasky’s *Compassionate Conservatism*; George W. Bush, 1999 Duty of Hope Speech)

Enlisting support of faith-based and charitable organisations has in turn become the alternative to the welfare state, which has been developed into the cornerstone of compassionate conservatism and Bush’s policy goals (Kuypers et al., 2003: 4). In 2001, Olasky’s ideas were put into practice when Bush created the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (Tomasi, 2004). And Olasky has since become Bush’s most influential intellectual adviser (Barkowski, et al., 2003). Much of Olasky’s discourse and views can be identified in Bush’s own speeches (e.g. 2001 Inaugural Address) to the nation as well as in some of the mission statements of the state backed service organizations, i.e. The Points of Light Foundation.²¹ His 2001 Inaugural Address²² was solely devoted to promoting compassionate conservatism (Saunders, 2001). This contextual account shows the link between Bush, Olasky and the right-wing Christian ideology that underpins Bush’s policies and ideology that is investigated in Chapters 5 and 7.

4.5 Epoch

In this section, I discuss another contextual element – timing – which is defined in this thesis as a period marked by particular events and characteristics. It is positioned as a historic moment that brings about social changes, e.g. cultural values,

²¹ The POL foundation’s mission statement is analyzed in Chapter 8 as one of the organizations that interface government with the society, in the social structure of VCS in America.

²² The 2001 Inaugural Address is the main data for analysis in Chapter 5.

etc. to the society. For Hyatt, this refers to the Foucauldian concept of 'epoch' and relates to how epistemes come to be constructed discursively.

4.5.1 The Construction of September 11 as Timing

Wars have been crucial in determining American identity throughout history and have come to be accepted as part of the American culture (Ryan, 2004). And with regard to voluntary service, past American wars are said to have defined American history by promoting civic vitality (Skocpol, 2002). In the same way, September 11 and the War on Terror have been claimed as defining moments not only for the American people, but also for the rest of the world (Said, 2001; Lazar and Lazar, 2004). As Kazei (2003: 166-7) sees it, "our nation's civic spirit has been renewed...Historians will likely say that the twenty-first century began on September 11, 2001". In this sense, it has been declared that since September 11, a new generation is growing in America and this is a turning point in American history.

According to Hyatt (2005) an episteme can be constructed by various people in society, e.g. journalists, politicians. Since September 11, the significance of the attacks as a defining moment in American history has been initiated by Bush and his government members in their speeches as well as documents circulated to the public. In his speeches following the attacks, Bush has repeatedly represented the attacks as marking a new beginning with reference to 'time' and 'moment'. For example in his

speech on September 20, he declared, “We have suffered great loss. And in our grief and anger we have found our mission and our moment...The advance of human freedom, the great achievement of our time and the great hope of our time, now depends on us” (G.W. Bush, 20 September, 2002). This discursal construction of time has also been represented as ‘an ethic of service’ and ‘a culture of service’ by the Bush government in its various documents to the people (see examples below).

Out of the tragic events of September 11 2001,...President Bush created the USA Freedom Corps to foster a culture of service, citizenship and responsibility – to capture a unique moment in history and sustain an ethic of service for generations to come. (Executive Summary of the Corporation for National and Community Service, 2004)

In the Guidebook to Students in Service to America, September 11 is also used to construct the people’s engagement in service as ‘a culture of service, citizenship and responsibility’:

To harness the outpouring of civic pride that emerged after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and foster a culture of service, citizenship, and responsibility in America, President Bush created the USA Freedom Corps. (Students in Service to America Guidebook, <http://www.studentsinservicetoamerica.org>)

In this thesis, I look at how Bush uses the September 11 event in his 2002 State of the Union Address, to construct and reinforce the idea of the birth of a new era in service, and how this plays a part in constructing and reinforcing a ‘common sense’ view that helps to legitimate his policies, and naturalise his ideology.

4.6 Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter I have presented the various contextual elements that shape and constitute the social practice of voluntary community service in contemporary America. Using Hyatt's (2005) four categories model, I have narrated the context of this social practice from its historical, political as well as the socio-economic perspectives. These contextual elements provide the background to my analyses of Bush's speeches in the following chapters.

The policies of government must heed the universal call of all faiths to love a neighbor as we would want to be loved ourselves. We need a different approach than either big government or indifferent government... I call my philosophy and approach "compassionate conservatism". It is compassionate to actively help our fellow citizens in need. It is conservative to insist on responsibility and on results (George W. Bush, President Promotes Compassionate Conservatism April 2002)

Chapter 5

Legitimizing the Social Practice of VCS via Compassion

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter and the next, my analyses involve looking at two speeches by Bush in which he asks the American people to volunteer. The aim of the analyses is to locate the discourses that he draws upon to legitimate the social practice of voluntary service, which will help to justify his goals for engaging people in volunteerism. When a social practice is spoken or written about, it becomes recontextualised. This also involves the recontextualising social practice, which in this case, is Bush's political address. I therefore look at how Bush represents the two main elements of the social practice of voluntary service in his addresses, i.e. participants (social actors) and activity (social action), to locate the discourses he draws upon. Here the concept of discourse relates to Fairclough's (1989) view of discursive practices (the processes of interpretation and production of texts) and social practice (the broader socio-cultural elements). More importantly, it draws on Van Leeuwen's (2005) perspective of the plural nature of discourses as knowledges/

representations of social reality. The analyses draw mainly upon Van Leeuwen's framework (1993a, 1993b, 1995, 1996, 2007), i.e. recontextualisation of social practice, representation of social action, social actors and legitimation analyses. In addition, frame enactment for self presentation and the 'us/them' categorisations for collective identity construction are also employed.

The 2001 Inaugural Address (Appendix 1) is the focus of this chapter, while the 2002 State of the Union Address (Appendix 2) is examined in Chapter 6. My analyses will show that while the speeches are quite different and draw upon different discourses, they share a common goal – that of asking the American people to engage in voluntary service. By comparing the 'asking', or what I call, his 'call for service messages' in these two speeches, I aim to illustrate a discursive shift in his legitimation strategies which, I argue, has aided in the successful implementation of his political agenda and mobilisation of the American people in voluntary service. This involves a transformation of 'the call for service message' from his 2001 speech to the 2002 address. This transformation is dependent on the context (the 'immediate socio-political context' discussed in the previous chapter) and the goals of Bush's policy in the aftermath of September 11.

In the 2001 Inaugural Address, Bush asks the American people to be 'citizens' (*I ask you to be **citizens**...*line 134, Extract 1, below). My argument here is that the 'call for service' or his 'request' for people to engage in voluntary service is embedded in his urge for them to be 'citizens'. Thus instead of making an overt request for them to volunteer, he has challenged them to be 'citizens'. My analysis

will focus on this message that is situated between lines 89 to the end of the speech (line 158). The core of the call for service message appears in lines 131-136: '*I ask you to be citizens...*' (Extract 1).

Extract 1

131 What you do is as important as anything **government** does. **I ask you**
132 to seek a common good beyond your comfort; to defend needed
133 reforms against easy attacks; to serve your nation, beginning with
134 your **neighbor**. I ask you to be **citizens**: citizens, not spectators;
135 citizens, not subjects; responsible citizens, building communities of
136 service and a nation of character.

In this extract, there are four main actors (highlighted in extract) that can be identified with regard to his 'asking'. Firstly, Bush himself – positioned by the personal pronoun '*I*'. Next, is the actor '*government*'. '*Citizens*' is his prime focus which refers to the American people in general. And finally, he mentions '*neighbors*'. The goal for his request for people to be citizens is stated as '*building communities of service and a nation of character*'.

In my analysis, I look at how he represents each of these actors in his speech in order to achieve his goals of engaging the American people in service. In general, there are two main forms of recontextualisation that he uses, namely 'substitution' and 'addition'. When some elements of the social practice of voluntary service, e.g. the actors, are represented through other words or terms, this involves substitution (Van Leeuwen, 1993a, 1993b). There are three types of 'additions' employed whereby some other elements have been added to the social practice of voluntary service. These include 'goals', 'legitimation', and 'evaluation'.

I start my analysis in Section 5.2 by looking at how he represents himself as president. I then move to his representations of the other actors, i.e. people (in Section 5.3), government (in Section 5.4) and those being helped (in Section 5.5). Here, I draw upon the concept of ‘subject positioning’ (Fairclough, 1989) to locate how Bush situates himself and others in his speech. The findings will enable us to locate the discourses he uses to legitimate VCS. I then explore his representations of the activity of performing service in Section 5.6. In Section 5.7, the focus is on the different discourses that Bush evokes through his representations of the main elements of the social practice of VCS. I end this chapter in Section 5.8 with a summary of the main points and conclusions.

5.2 Representing Authority and Power of the President

As I had mentioned earlier, the person delivering the speech and ‘speaking’ about voluntary service is Bush, therefore he is the main actor in recontextualising this social practice. Although he is not part of the recontextualised social practice (VCS), it is still necessary to examine how he represents himself because by positioning himself through his ‘call for service’, he also situates other actors, e.g. the ‘government’ and ‘the American people’. In general, he uses two main strategies to present himself as president, namely *personal authorisation* and *self-presentation frames*. Both these strategies help to reinforce his position/role and message to the American people.

With regard to his request in lines 131-136 (see Extract 1), he uses the personal pronoun ‘I’ to refer to himself. This is a form of legitimation known as

‘personal authority legitimation’ (Van Leeuwen, 2007: 91-112). It is based on the view that something needs to be done because ‘I say so’. It evinces the authority of the actor which is apparent in lines 131-134, where Bush uses the ‘directive speech act’ to summon people for action: *‘I ask you to seek a common good...’* and *‘I ask you to be citizens...’* (lines 131-134). The substitution with ‘I’ and his use of directives display Bush’s right to give orders, thereby establishing his status as the person in control. In this way, he ascertains not only his status as the one in power, but also positions the other actors (whom he calls on) and therefore determines their social roles and relations with him as well as with each other.

In line 131 (Extract 1), his reference to people as ‘you’ is a strategic way to distance the speaker from the hearer and construct an ‘other’ (Pennycook, 1994). ‘You’ and ‘your’ are also part of what Teten (2007: 678) calls a ‘directive rhetoric’ that places action on the American people rather than the president himself. Situating the ‘government’ within the same sentence with ‘you’ further implies a separate and distinct actor which he is not a part of (*‘What **you** do is as important as anything **government** does’* line 131). This individuates Bush by differentiating him from the government and the people (addressee/ audience). Differentiating himself in this way from both the government and the people puts him above ‘government’ and constitutes the people as subjects (both these actors are discussed further in the subsequent sections).

His situating of ‘self’ through ‘personal authority legitimation’ also involves what Goffman (1967, cited in Jaworski and Coupland, 1999: 306-307) calls ‘face

construction' – the representation of self-image through 'frames'. 'Face' involves positive values that the speaker wishes to claim for himself to influence how others perceive him to be. In this sense, the 'frame' that is used is the organisational premise through which the image of the individual is projected to others (see discussion in Chapter 3). The use of self presentation frames is an important feature of the rhetoric of politicians as their choice of self presentation frames takes into account what would appeal to the audience and under which circumstance. The choices are determined by the purposes of the speaker himself and can be instrumental in the success of the political speeches (Morgan, 1977: 276-79).

In Bush's request to the people to be '*citizens*' which is delivered in the form of a 'personal authoritative summon' (using the personal pronoun 'I'), he places emphasis on his status and role as the people's leader. The self-image he projects here draws upon culturally significant values and principles of the American people. This allows him to construct the frame of 'The Leader of the People' (see Extract 2).

Extract 2

118 Our public interest depends on private character, on civic duty and
119 family bonds and basic fairness, on uncounted, unhonored acts of
120 decency which give direction to our freedom.

In lines 118-120 (Extract 2) he refers to what is known as the core principles of American culture (Menashe and Siegel, 1998; Kuypers et al., 2003; Beasely, 2001) such as responsibility ('*private character*'), democracy ('*civic duty*'), family values ('*family bonds*'), justice ('*fairness*') and liberty ('*freedom*'). In lines 125- 130 (Extract 3), he then goes on to declare that as the people's leader he will embrace

these principles (*'I will live and lead by these principles: to advance my convictions...'* line 125; *try to live it as well'* line 127-128) and core values, e.g. *'civility', 'courage', 'justice', 'compassion', 'responsibility'*.

Extract 3

125 I will live and lead by these principles: to advance my convictions
126 with civility, to pursue the public interest with courage, to speak for
127 greater justice and compassion, to call for responsibility and try to
128 live it as well.

129 In all these ways, I will bring the values of our history to the care of
130 of our times.

He thus uses culturally based and pre-constructed images to represent his 'face' for achieving the self-image that he wishes to project to his audience (addressee). In this sense, the self-image he projects reflects the values that are widely shared by the American people (*'I will bring the values of our history...'* lines 129-130, above). This frame helps Bush to appeal to "potential supporters, both as a 'good' prototypical American Politician and as a 'good' individual example" (Morgan, 1997: 297). It not only enables him to compose the concept of authority as being closely connected to the notion of presidency, but also to construct himself in a positive way as the people's leader whose decisions and measures are fair and impartial, which the people need to support. This assertion of his position of power and authority as their leader as well as the prototypical American, through personal authority and frame of 'The Leader of the People', legitimates his right to summon people's involvement in service, which is the focus of his message.

5.3 Representing Government through Its Role

In the previous section, I focused mainly on how Bush represents his role as the president. There was also some evidence of his positioning of the people and the government. When he refers to the actor 'government' he draws mainly upon its role. For instance, in Extract 4, he outlines the roles of the government (*'Government has great responsibilities'* line 100) with examples such as *'public safety and public health, for civic rights and common schools'* (lines 100-102). This helps him to situate the government as a separate entity from him and further elevates his position of authority.

Extract 4

100 Government has great responsibilities for public safety and public
101 health, for civil rights and common schools. Yet compassion is the
102 work of the nation, not just a government.

In lines 101-102, he refers to *'compassion'* as *'the work of the nation'*, which helps him to define the role of the government in relation to the responsibilities of the people. This enables him to establish its role in terms of what the government should and should not do, but at the same time he determines the social duty of the people. The term *'compassion'* is a substitute for 'service' and will be discussed in the later part of this chapter. For the moment my focus is on how he ascertains the relations between the government and the people.

His reference to 'service' (*'compassion'*) as *'the work of the nation not just a government'* implies that the government and the people should work together as

partners rather than as separate entities. This is also apparent in his call for service message earlier (*'What you do is as important as anything government does'* line 131, Extract 1), whereby he reinstates the responsibilities of the people as equivalent in importance to that of the government. In this way, while positioning himself as separate from these actors, the government and the people are situated as partners to one another. And to link these actors together as partners, he draws upon voluntary service (represented here as *'compassion'*). Bush's representation of the government and the people as partners to fight poverty and social ills draws upon the concept of 'community' that aims to create a network of allegiance between the people and the government. This correlates with Rose's (1996) view that 'community' is the new means for neo-liberal governments to manage individuals and collective existence (see discussion in Chapter 2).

5. 4 Representing the People of America as a Civic Community

In this section, I look at how Bush constitutes people as 'subjects' and determines their roles and social relations with each other through the use of terms such as 'citizens', 'America', etc. My analysis will reveal that his request for people to volunteer is embedded within these different substitutions that he uses. Furthermore, the positioning of people as subjects through the choice of substitutions will inform us about his ideological stance – that of situating VCS as a commonsensical practice of the American citizenry.

- **Citizens**

In the main phrase of his message (see lines 131-136, Extract 1), Bush asks the people to serve (*'I ask you ...to serve your nation, beginning with your neighbours'*). Here his key term of reference to the people is through the noun 'citizens' (*'I ask you to be **citizens**: **citizens**, not spectators; **citizens**, not subjects; responsible **citizens**, building communities of service and a nation of character'* lines 134-136). Using 'citizens' is a form of 'identification' (Van Leeuwen, 1996) in terms of what people are, i.e. civilians, residents. But by stating what they are not within the same sentence, i.e. '*not spectators*' and '*not subjects*', he implies that they should not be passive bystanders but active members of the country. His reference to them as 'citizens' therefore 'functionalises' (Van Leeuwen, 1996) them, and identifies them based on their roles and duties to their country/government as 'citizens' with voting rights, civic duties etc.

The roles and duties of citizens are explained within the same phrase and constructed as part of his requests (see lines 131-134 in Extract 1). This is a form of 'addition'. In this case, it is an implicit way of outlining his 'goals' for citizenship, the 'what for' of the social practice (Van Leeuwen, 1993a). In lines 131-134, the goals are stated as '*...to defend needed reforms against easy attacks; to serve your nation, beginning with your neighbor*', while in lines 134-136, the goal is stated as '*...building communities of service and a nation of character*'. He ascertains what citizenship entails and in this way the roles of people in accordance with the goals stated by him. Both these phrases show Bush drawing upon the idea of

communitarianism that places emphasis on the responsibilities of people to their communities. This is evident in his lexical choice such as '*serve*', '*nation*', '*your neighbor*', and '*communities*'. Drawing upon the idea of 'community' helps him to define the shared responsibilities of the American people as synonymous with the duties of citizens. This enables him to link voluntary service to citizenship. This stance is further reinstated through his repeated use of the term '*citizens*' within the same sentence.

Repetitions are a means of achieving redundancy (Van Leeuwen, 1993a) and are a part of ideological discourse structures aimed at controlling attention while steering interpretation through emphasis (Van Dijk, 1998: 273). Bush's repetition involves a listing in 'threes', which is a persuasive strategy known as 'three-part lists'. According to Atkinson (1984: 59-60), listing of similar lexical items can strengthen an argument by underlining or amplifying the intended message. By delivering the noun '*citizens*' in the form of a three-part list, Bush ensures greater emphasis on his intended message, the importance of the duties and roles of citizenship by way of service, so that the message does not go unnoticed by the audience. Three part lists are also drawn upon to "construct some events or actions as commonplace or normal" (Potter, 1996: 197). Bush's delivery of the noun '*citizens*' in threes is another strategy to situate service as commonsense; here it is characterised as the basic requirement or need of citizenry.

In this speech, there is a contradiction in the meanings conveyed by Bush for achieving his goals of engaging the people in VCS. Bush's declaration that when

positioned as '*citizens*' it means that they are '*not subjects*', is a contradiction, because by positioning people as '*citizens*', he exercises his right to position them as citizens. He refers to their roles and duties to the country and their government, which in actual fact positions the American people as 'subjects' – whereby it binds them to the country by way of their roles and duties. When juxtaposed with '*citizens*' he draws attention to the ideas of empowerment and 'responsibilisation' (Rose, 1996). Their role as 'subjects' is even more apparent in his Joint Session of Congress Address delivered a month after the Inaugural Address, in which he explicitly defines the American people as 'subjects', by calling them '*fellow citizens*' and '*good and faithful servants*':

We can make Americans proud of their government. Together we can share in the credit of making our country more prosperous and generous and just, and earn from our conscience and from our fellow citizens the highest possible praise: Well done, good and faithful servants. (George W. Bush, February 27, 2001)

- **America/Americans/Nation**

Besides the term '*citizens*', Bush also uses other terms such as '*America*', '*American*', and '*nation*' when referring to people (see Extract 5).

Extract 5

89 America at its best, is compassionate. In the quiet of American
90 conscience, we know that deep persistent poverty is unworthy of our
91 nation's promise.

The term, '*America*', semantically omits the human feature ('*America ...is compassionate*'). This is better known as 'impersonalisation' and gives impersonal authority to the actor being referred to (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 60). And this term of reference 'spatialises' (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 61) the people based on their association to the place/country they reside or belong in (e.g. *America*), rather than the actor him- or herself. The terms '*America*' and '*nation*' (see Extract 5) refer to people through their affiliations to the country. The ideological force of his argumentation rests on the fact that these terms also connote the legal status of belonging to a specific location – as resident, thereby relating to the characteristics and principles of what it means to be '*American*'. By referring to people as '*America*', '*Americans*' or '*nation*', Bush is drawing on the broader concepts of '*Americanism*' (Hutcheson et al., 2004) or '*American exceptionalism*'¹ (Kuypers et al., 2003) that defines Americans as people of outstanding values and ideals. Drawing upon American ideals is a key strategy in the construction of American identity (Hutcheson et al., 2004).

As a summary, I return to my main argument that Bush has not made an overt request for the American people to volunteer '*to serve the nation and neighbour*'; he has instead chosen a more strategic way to achieve this. His reference to people through terms such as '*citizens*', '*nations*', '*America*' and '*Americans*' 'collectivizes' (Van Leeuwen, 1996) them and establishes their social relationship with each other as a group who belong together – as a consensual and homogenous group of people with shared identities and values. This is part of the construction of

¹ American Exceptionalism is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

collective identities and more specifically national identity (American). But my discussion earlier of his use of the term '*citizens*' showed that he 'functionalises' the American people through the notions of shared responsibilities and common commitments. His message stresses the message that the responsibilities of people as '*citizens*' is part of the American values and way of life. Therefore his purpose of drawing upon American identity is to highlight the sense of duty and responsibility that a person must have. This is said to be a defining feature of the 'real' American citizen (Harris and Williams 2003: 212-13).

Bush's reference to people as '*citizens*, '*America*' etc positions them as 'subjects'. In this way, he defines himself as 'authority' and the American people as 'a civic community'. He aims for general compliance of the people for his policies, agendas, and therefore his 'summons' vis-à-vis personal authority. His rhetoric helps to legitimate his actions as their leader. The people are constituted as belonging together through their association as '*citizens*' with obligations to their community, their government and to him. It is, thus, a deliberate attempt to situate service as part of the practices of citizenry in order to define it as a commonsensical practice and an element of their daily lives as American citizens.

This signifies what Fairclough (2000: 34-5) calls a 'one-nation politics' that focuses attention on the needs of the nation as a whole with specific measures to strengthen 'national community' and its 'shared values'. Bush's 'one-nation politics' is achieved by drawing upon various discourses that build on the idea of nationhood, i.e. citizenship and communitarian. The discussion so far has revealed his use of

‘authority’ to establish his own position and social relation with other actors. His positioning of the government draws upon the concept of ‘community’ in order to situate people as partners to the government. By situating people as ‘*citizens*’, ‘*Americans*’, etc. he places emphasis on their obligation, responsibility and duty. In this way, he draws upon the concept of ‘citizenship’ that is merged with ‘nationalism’ through his reference to American identity. Furthermore, his use of terms/phrases such as ‘*serve your nation, beginning with your neighbour*’, ‘*building communities of service*’ in his request (lines 131-136, Extract 1) defines voluntary service within the scope of ‘a communitarian discourse’. In the next section, I look at another group of actors in his call for service, ‘neighbours’, to illustrate how he represents this group of actors.

5.5 Representing the People in Need as ‘Others’

In the call for service, Bush also refers to ‘*your neighbor*’ (see Extract 1) – his representation of the people in need. In this section I look at who this group involves and how they are positioned, which determines their social relations with him and others. In Extract 6, he refers to those in need of service as ‘*Americans in need*’ (line 97).

Extract 6

97 When there is suffering, there is duty. Americans in need are not
98 strangers, they are citizens, not problems, but priorities.

Through ‘collectivisation’, which is a form of ‘assimilation’ (Van Leeuwen, 1996), Bush labels them as ‘*Americans*’ and ‘*citizens*’. This defines them as equal

members of society, as *'not strangers'*. However, with post modifications as in *'Americans in need'* (line 97) he 'differentiates' them from the rest of volunteers/citizens referred to as *'Americans'*. This is an instance of the use of the 'us' and 'them' categorisation. According to Van Leeuwen (1996: 52), 'differentiation' highlights the differences of the group of social actors from a similar group in an explicit way and creates a binary perception of 'us' and 'them'. This binary positioning is evident in his use of the third person pronoun *'they'* in line 98 (*'they are citizens'*, see Extract 6) to identify recipients of service, to 'collectivise' them as a different group from that of the audience (those being asked to perform service). This also distinguishes the actor from the government, therefore differentiating the service recipients as 'them' while establishing the rest as 'us'.

This form of differentiation is apparent in line 98, where he refers to people in need as *'not problems but priorities'*. In this sense, they are 'objectivised' as a condition and therefore 'impersonalised'. Impersonalisation backgrounds the identity of the *'people in need'* and gives agency to those involved in VCS. This allows Bush to position them as the goal or target of his call for service, and in turn VCS. By labelling them *'citizens'* and *'Americans'*, Bush implies that they are in equal relations – belonging together as part of the nation. But by constructing them as a separate group through 'differentiation' and impersonalisation, he 'passivises' (Van Leeuwen, 1996) them as recipients or beneficiaries of the service providers. In this sense, they are formulated as the *'priorities'* of *'citizens'* which makes them part of the duties and responsibilities of the American citizenry. This draws upon the discourses of 'citizenship' and 'communitarian'.

5.6 Representing VCS via Citizenship and Communitarianism

So far my discussion has centred on Bush's positioning of the various actors in voluntary service. My analysis also revealed that his positioning of the actors determines their social relations with each other and with him. In this section, I examine how Bush represents voluntary service or the performing of service through three main concepts, namely, '*duty*', '*responsibility*' and '*commitments*'.

- **Duty**

In lines 150-152 (Extract 7), he refers to '*duty*' as the '*service*' of everyone ('*our duty*') to each other ('*to one another*').

Extract 7

150 We are not this story's author, who fills time and eternity with his
151 purpose. Yet his purpose is achieved in our duty, and our duty is
152 fulfilled in service to one another.

The phrase '*service to one another*' advocates community spirit. Combining the possessive determiner '*our*' with '*duty*' builds on the idea of a contractual obligation of the American people ('*our duty is fulfilled in service to one another*' lines 151-152). This makes service the common purpose/goal of people to their communities. Earlier in lines 97-98 (see Extract 6), he juxtaposed '*duty*' with the term '*suffering*'. While '*duty*' has a positive representation, '*suffering*' connotes misery and distress. These terms are linked to '*duty*' via his positioning of another group of actors – '*Americans in need*' – who make up the target audience for

community spirit (see earlier discussion). '*Duty*' thus becomes the order of the day when represented as civic consciousness of the people for their country and their community as a means to overcome or eliminate the negative elements ('*suffering*'). In this fashion, he has linked the need for service with '*duty*' by defining social issues ('*problems*', '*suffering*' lines 97-98) as the 'goals' of voluntary service.

'*Duty*' is also combined with the adjective '*civic*' as a pre-modifier in line 118 (Extract 8). Once again, this implies a legal obligation or responsibility of the citizens to their country and their government.

Extract 8

118 Our public interest depends on private character, on civic duty and
119 family bonds and basic fairness, on uncounted, unhonored acts of
120 decency which gives direction to our freedom.

In addition, '*duty*' is situated as part of what is said to be core American values such as '*family*', '*fairness*', '*freedom*' (in lines 119-120). His use of the term '*duty*' therefore relates to the view of the strengthening of civic society as well as the strengthening of communities.

- **Responsibility**

Bush situates the term '*responsibility*' in a broader perspective that includes responsibility not only as legal obligation of the individual to the country and its community, but also through moral connotations as a value or trait of the American people. In lines 111 – 112 (Extract 9), '*responsibility*' collocates with '*personal*' and

through reference to ‘*America*’ — ‘*personal responsibility*’ is characterised as an attribute of American citizens.

Extract 9

111 America, at its best, is a place where personal responsibility is valued
112 and expected.

In lines 113-117 (Extract 10), ‘*responsibility*’ is collocated with phrases that imply ‘service’ through abstract representations with legal as well as moral undertones, e.g. ‘*it is a call to conscience*’, ‘*it requires sacrifice, it brings deeper fulfillment*’ (lines 113-114).

Extract 10

113 Encouraging responsibility is not a search for scapegoats, it is a call
114 to conscience. And though it requires sacrifice, it brings a deeper
115 fulfillment. We find the fullness of life not only in options, but in
116 commitments. And we find that children and community are the
117 commitments that set us free.

- **Commitments**

As mentioned earlier, Bush’s representations focus on the strengthening of civic society by constantly linking it to the idea of strengthening of communities. For this purpose, besides the terms ‘*responsibility*’ and ‘*duty*’, Bush uses ‘*commitments*’ vis-à-vis legal and moral connotations. The term ‘*commitments*’ appears twice in lines 113-117 (Extract 10) and Bush defines it as the opposite of its original meaning. Commitment originally refers to obligation that restricts freedom of action (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 2001), but in this context, the term is

collocated with '*responsibility*' (in lines 113-114, Extract 10), as obligation that provides freedom through community service ('*we find fullness of life not only in option but in commitments*' , *And we find that children and community are the commitments that set us free*). In this fashion, he draws on '*commitment*' as the legal and moral obligation of people to their communities and to themselves, thereby once again placing greater emphasis on what American citizenry entails.

5.7 Representing Voluntary Service via a Moral Discourse

In the previous sections, my analysis demonstrated Bush's representations of the concept of 'service' as the practices of a civic and democratic society, which revealed a moral undertone to his representations. In this section, I look at his recontextualisation of the activity of performing service, i.e. voluntary service. In general, the activity of 'performing service' (volunteering) is represented through 'metonymical displacements' (Van Leeuwen, 1995). This is a form of 'substitution' and more specifically 'objectivation' whereby the activity is represented in an abstract and generalised way as some form of remarkable thing, value or quality, and even as a phenomenon rather than as an action (Van Leeuwen, 1995). Bush uses abstract nouns and phrases such as '*compassion*' and '*acts of decency*', to represent voluntary service as something intangible and abstract which relates to human qualities and behaviour rather than as the activity of performing service. Therefore I call this 'moral behaviour displacement'. In what follows, I discuss the various 'moral behaviour displacements' used by Bush. This form of displacement enables Bush to constitute VCS as a moralised and moralising social practice.

- **Compassion**

One example of moral behaviour displacement is the use of the abstract noun ‘compassion’ defined as ‘*the work of a nation*’ (see Extract 11, lines 101-102).

Extract 11

100 Government has great responsibilities for public safety and public
101 health, for civil rights and common schools. Yet compassion is the
102 work of a nation, not just a government.

‘*Compassion*’ is a word that means sympathetic pity for the sufferings of others. But Bush’s use of the word ‘*compassion*’ in this phrase does not refer to it as a noun with this meaning. He has instead drawn upon its denotations (sympathy, pity, etc) and attached it to his definition of the ‘*work of the nation*’. In my discussion earlier on, I illustrated his use of the term ‘*nation*’ to represent the people of America. It is a collective reference that ‘functionalises’ the American people in terms of their duties and responsibilities as citizens. In lines 101-102 (Extract 11), his reference to ‘*compassion*’ as ‘*the work of the nation*’ signifies service performed by the American people as duty to their country. He therefore characterises service as ‘*compassion*’. By using the label ‘*compassion*’ for ‘*the work of the nation*’, Bush has managed to substitute the term ‘service’ with ‘*compassion*’.

His designation of ‘*compassion*’ as ‘*the work of a nation*’, in Extract 11, entails two different ‘objectivations’ (Van Leeuwen, 1995) of voluntary service. First, as used in theology, his reference to ‘*work*’ denotes ‘a task’ that carries evaluative signifiers, e.g. ‘goodness’ or ‘kindness’, which therefore portrays service

as a 'moral deed'. Secondly, the term '*work*', when phrased as '*the work of a nation*', implies 'duty' and 'responsibility', which in turn are terms associated with civic duty and citizenship. In this way, instead of making a direct reference to civic duty, Bush has substituted it with the word '*compassion*' in order to attach positive human emotions, values and qualities. He thereby represents service as a value-laden and therefore morally justified activity.

- **Acts of decency**

According to Van Leeuwen (1995: 94-95), 'objectivations' can also allow social actions to be 'labelled' or 'classified' and this can legitimate the action. In Extract 2, voluntary service is referred to as '*acts of decency*' ('*Our public interest depends... on civic duty... on uncounted, unhonored acts of decency which give direction to our freedom*' lines 118-120). This follows on from his earlier reference in lines 113-116 (Extract 10), in which he refers to '*responsibility*' through legal and moral connotations (see discussion on 'responsibility' in previous section). '*Acts of decency*' is a form of 'generalisation' (Van Leeuwen, 1995) that defines voluntary service ('*civic duty*') in a broader scope. Through 'distillation' (Van Leeuwen, 1995) of certain positive qualities to legitimate the social action, voluntary service is ascribed a moral evaluation not only through the label '*acts of decency*', but also through the premodifiers '*uncounted*' and '*unhonored*' that are direct representations of a moral code.

- **Spirit of citizenship**

The social practice of voluntary service is also represented as the '*spirit of citizenship*' (twice) in lines 137-140 (Extract 12). Although Bush does not refer to service here, this extract follows on from the core of his message in which he calls upon the American people to be citizens (lines 131-136, Extract 1), which I analysed in the earlier part of the chapter. My findings revealed that his reference to voluntary service is subsumed in his reference to people as '*citizens*' and '*Americans*'.

Extract 12

137 Americans are generous and strong and decent, not because we
138 believe in ourselves, but because we hold beliefs beyond ourselves.
139 When this spirit of citizenship is missing, no government program
140 can replace it. When this spirit is present, no wrong can stand against
141 it.

In this extract, Bush also refers to the people as '*Americans*'. He describes the qualities of Americans in lines 137-138 ('*Americans are **generous and strong and decent**...*'), identifies their traits as exceptional people ('*we hold beliefs beyond ourselves*') and refers to these values specifically as '*this spirit of citizenship*', thereby drawing upon both legal and moral connotations. The '*spirit of citizenship*' is a form of 'generalisation' (Van Leeuwen, 1995) used to abstract specific qualities and values in order to attach them to the social action of voluntary service.

5.8 Legitimizing Voluntary Service as a Moralised and Moralising Social Practice

So far my discussion has demonstrated Bush's use of authority, citizenship and community to represent the elements of VCS. In this sense, these representations can be said to draw upon three different discourses, namely, 'an authoritarian discourse', 'a communitarian discourse' and 'a discourse of citizenship'. This view is based on Van Leeuwen's (2005) explanation that discourses are representations of aspects of reality – they are knowledges that are socially constructed. All these discourses are used by Bush to represent VCS, but underlying his representations is his aim to legitimate the social practice as being part of the American tradition, as part of citizenship and the roles and duties of a civic community. They are thus legitimisation discourses – discourses that legitimate social practices (Van Leeuwen, 2007).

My discussions also evinced the presence of a moral undertone in Bush's representations of voluntary service. This is a form of 'moral evaluation legitimisation'. Besides 'goals', additions also involve 'legitimations' and 'evaluations'. Legitimation tells us 'why' something is done, therefore giving the reasons for why some part of the social practice or the whole practice has to take place. It can be realised in various features of language: (i) vocabularies built into the explanations; (ii) rudimentary theoretical propositions such as proverbs, moral maxims, wise sayings; (iii) explicit theories; (iv) 'symbolic universes', e.g. religion (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 111ff).

According to Van Leeuwen (2007: 97-98), evaluation is always connected to legitimation as it provides a moral basis or judgment for recontextualisation and therefore invokes a legitimating discourse. This is known as ‘moral evaluation legitimation’. However, ‘moral evaluation legitimation’ can often be combined with ‘authority legitimation’. To the question, ‘why should we do it this way or in this way?’, ‘authority legitimation’ provides the answer – ‘because I say so’ (see Bush’s authoritarian discourse discussed in Section 5.2). In contrast, ‘moral evaluation legitimation’ draws upon discourses of moral values but they are inferred among others through certain key terms, e.g. adjectives that trigger moral concepts but are detached from the main system of meaning, making them unidentifiable at the conscious level. In this way, moral discourses are metamorphosed into ‘generalized motives’ that according to Habermas (1979 in Van Leeuwen, 2007: 98) are now ‘widely used to ensure mass loyalty’. For this reason, the method for analysis of moral evaluations is not so straightforward.

The method may require analysts to draw on other features such as the social-cultural or historical perspectives that would be able to explain the moral status of the expressions identified in order to trace them back to the discourses of moral values that underpin them (Van Leeuwen, 2007: 98). I will now illustrate how Bush uses ‘moral evaluation legitimation’ in his call for service message in the 2001 Inaugural Address. It embodies a ‘moral discourse’ based on values that have religious, cultural and historical significance to the American people.

- **Parable and Religious Figures**

In general, Bush's representations draw upon a 'moral discourse' based on religious principles. Voluntary service is considered as 'morally good' and bears a relation to the laws of religion/God. In lines 109-110 (Extract 13), he refers to the well known parable of the wounded traveller to Jericho. This is also known as the story of the 'Good Samaritan' who did not turn the other way but stayed to help the wounded traveller (Luke, 10:30-37: New Testament). A parable is a story that is used to illustrate a moral or spiritual lesson. As it has religious roots the story is said to be of divine proportions.

Extract 13

109 And I pledge our nation to a goal: When we see that wounded
110 traveler on the road to Jericho, we will not pass to the other side.

Here, Bush uses 'soft' authority by referring to the parable, thereby showing features of 'personal authority legitimation' through the declarative speech act – '*And I pledge our nation to a goal*' (line 109). This shows authority while the use of the pronoun '*we*' in the inclusive sense refers to the people and himself, thereby binding him to the people, through service. And this is the main message in the subsequent lines (see my earlier discussion on responsibility, lines 111-112, Extract 9). Implicitly, however, this parable speaks of kindness, generosity, compassion and every good value that is said to exist in humans.

According to Inrig (1991: 7), parables are used as self-reflection exercises as they embody Jesus' message to mankind. A parable therefore "becomes the mirror in which self-recognition produces self-understanding". Bush's purpose for using the parable is to awaken these good values in the American people and for the transference of such values and qualities to the practice of voluntary service. It is a form of 'distillation' (Van Leeuwen, 1995) which enables Bush to extract the qualities of the actors from the parable in order to apply them to the actors of voluntary service. The parable itself is a form of an answer to the question, 'but who is my neighbour?' – a question from the biblical story. The moral of this story is 'to love your neighbour as you love yourself', the message told by Jesus. In this way, the parable is used to legitimate voluntary service through its inferences to religious principles and therefore good moral values.

In fact, there are elements of this moral discourse of a religious nature throughout his call for service message as well as in the rest of his speech. In lines 121-122 (Extract 14), Bush mentions a '*saint*', another concept from Christian scriptures referring to a person of exalted virtue

Extract 14

121 Sometimes in life we are called to do great things. But a saint of
122 our times has said, every day we are called to do small things with
123 great love. The most important tasks of democracy are done by
124 everyone.

While he refers to '*a saint of our time*', Bush does not however mention who this person is. '*Saint*' signifies the traits of someone who is held in high esteem by

the Church and its followers. In this instance, underlying this reference is the social practice of community service – also signified through the concept of ‘love’ – ‘*to do small things with great love*’, which Bush then defines as everyone’s ‘*tasks of democracy*’. The example of the parable and the saint (above) are forms of ‘overdetermination’ (Van Leeuwen, 1995), i.e. representations in which the social actors in the social practice can refer to social actors in more than one social practice. Myths, fairy tales and other stories set in a fantasy world are symbolisations that, according to Wright (1975: 188), “can present *a model of social action* based on mythical interpretations of the past” (in Van Leeuwen 1995: 100, emphasis in original). For example, the ‘*Good Samaritan*’ in the parable refers to the volunteers. The wounded traveller in the story symbolises the service recipients.

- **History**

Bush also uses other morally justified elements to legitimate his call for service, such as history and symbols of American values, tradition and identity. For example in lines 142-145 (Extract 15), he draws upon history to remind the American people of their tradition and the pledge in the ‘*Declaration of Independence*’ by their President, Thomas Jefferson.

Extract 15

142 After the Declaration of Independence was signed, Virginia
143 statesman John Page wrote to Thomas Jefferson: “We know the race
144 is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong. Do you not think an
145 angel rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm?”

146 Much time has passed since Jefferson arrived for his inauguration.
147 The years and changes accumulate. But the themes of this day he
148 would know: our nation's grand story of courage and its simple dream
149 of dignity.

Thus, history is used to define VCS as part of the tradition set by their founding fathers (*'Jefferson'*). He also makes a similar reference in lines 129-130 (See Extract 3) with a declarative speech act: *'I will bring the values of our history to the care of our times'*. In this way, religion, history, tradition, culture and citizenship help to legitimate his call for service by defining what it means to be an American citizen. Voluntary service is represented as a commonsensical practice that is part of the culture and traditions of the American people.

- **Moral Quest**

Furthermore, Bush uses a metaphorical representation of voluntary service in the speech (in lines 142-157, Extracts 15 and 16). 'Metaphors' are 'rhetorical figures' that have specific persuasive functions and aim to direct attention towards a certain desired interpretation (Van Dijk, 1998). Metaphors are also a form of 'overdetermination' that highlights a quality of the action rather than the action itself. They introduce 'goals/purposes' and 'legitimations' through positive connotations and thereby "create covert classifications of action along the dimensions of the quality or qualities highlighted" (Van Leeuwen, 1995: 101).

The metaphor in this message is 'a moral quest' and uses 'a path schema with a goal' (Lakoff, 1987: 441-442) that implies a long and arduous path in times of violence or turbulence to accomplish the prescribed task that had been set up by the

founding member of the country. In Bush's speech, the 'moral quest' is represented with a story-line (see lines 146-157, Extract 16).

Extract 16

146 Much time has passed since Jefferson arrived for his inauguration.
147 The years and changes accumulate. But the themes of this day he
148 would know our nation's grand story of courage and its simple dream
149 of dignity.

150 We are not this story's author who fills time and eternity with his
151 purpose. Yet his purpose is achieved in our duty, our duty is
152 fulfilled in service to one another.

153 Never tiring, never yielding, never finishing, we renew that purpose
154 today, to make our country more than just and generous, to affirm the
155 dignity of our lives and every life.

156 This work continues. This story goes on. And an angel still rides in the
157 whirlwind and directs this storm.

There is some evidence of the representation of it as a 'moral story' by Bush in his speech: he uses the term '*story*'-- '*our nation's grand story*' (line 148), '*this story's*' (line 150) and '*this story*' (line 156). The main actors involve the founding fathers (*Thomas Jefferson*), Bush (as the leader currently continuing with the quest), and the people who need to engage in voluntary service. The quest itself is represented as '*duty*' (line 151), as '*service to one another*' (line 152), '*this work*' (line 156) connoting obligation and responsibility. There are elements of temporality through reference to *history*, e.g. '*Thomas Jefferson*' (lines 146,143), '*Declaration of Independence*' (lines 142), and as different periods in time to refer to the past and

present, e.g. '*the past*' (lines 146-147), '*the years*' (line 147), '*fills this time*' (line 150) '*of this day*' (line 147), *today* (line 154).

These elements of temporality evince a movement from the past to the present and the future, thereby connoting a timeless journey to define service through a journey and *path of the quest*, e.g. '*the years and changes accumulate*' (line 147), '*eternity*' (line 150), '*this work continues, this story goes on...*' (line 156). The moral quest through service is defined as '*our duty*' (twice in line 151) and '*service to one another*' (line 152) and '*this work*' (line 156). But it is referred to as the goals set by *Jefferson* ('his', 'he'), e.g. '*the themes of this day he would know*' (lines 147-148), '*his purpose is achieved in our duty*' (line 151). It is also referred in terms of *values* such as honour and respect, '*our nation's grand story of courage and its simple dream of dignity*' (lines 148-149), '*to affirm the dignity of our lives and every life*' (lines 154-155).

In conclusion, using the metaphor of 'a moral quest', Bush manages to draw upon the principles of citizenship and communitarian by embedding them within a discourse of moral and religious values. This has enabled him to position VCS as a moralised and moralising social practice. In lines 153-154 (Extract 16), through the use of alliteration – '*never*' combined with adjectives that end in '*ing*' to signify action, perseverance and continuity ('***Never tiring, never yielding, never finishing,** we renew that purpose today*') – he defines service as the goals ('*purpose*') set by Thomas Jefferson ('*his*'), which Bush and the people ('*our*') now ('*today*') uphold through voluntary service ('*Yet **his** purpose is achieved in **our duty**, **our duty** is*

fulfilled in service to one another’ lines 151-152). He ends his message with an emphasis on service as part of the journey of the American people throughout history, with terms such as ‘*continues*’ and ‘*goes on*’ that symbolise eternity and a quest (‘*This work continues; This story goes on*’ lines 156-157). And he refers to ‘*the angel in the whirlwind*’ (line 157) to once again call attention to his message that service is the quest set by God. Thus bringing a closure to his story of the ‘moral quest’, Bush delineates people’s involvement in service as part of their unity as Americans, and to uphold the strong convictions of America’s founding fathers.

But more importantly, he characterises voluntary community service as being willed by God. This affirmation is also present in lines 41-42 (see Extract 17), in the earlier part of this speech, where he says ‘*we are guided by a power...who creates us equal in His image*’, while at the same time, defining his own role in carrying on the task of God and the founding fathers, through his call for the people to serve.

Extract 17

37 ...Our unity, our union,
38 is the serious work of leaders and citizens in every generation. And
39 this is my solemn pledge: I will work to build a single nation of
40 justice and opportunity.

41 I know this is in our reach because we are guided by a power larger
42 than ourselves who creates us equal in His image.

His metaphor of moral quest represents voluntary service as a moralised and moralising social practice. His representations draw upon a moral discourse embedded in religious principles and values. The social practice of voluntary

community service in the 2001 Inaugural Address is thus legitimated through a discourse of moral and religious values.

5. 9 Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter I set out to investigate Bush's 2001 Inaugural Address by using the two main concepts of 'recontextualisation' and 'legitimation'. My purpose was to reveal how he legitimated the social practice of voluntary community service in this speech, via his call to the people to be citizens. In general Bush used 'substitutions' and 'additions' to represent the elements of the social practice of VCS. Through his representations in his 'request' to the American people, he not only managed to position his role as 'The Leader of the People' with authority and power, he also established the roles of the other actors that he evoked. He defined the government as a separate entity from him, but through a deliberate stance put himself 'above' the government. In order to define his authoritative role further, he positioned the people as subjects, and more specifically as a civic community, through his call to them as '*citizens*'/'*Americans*'/'*nation*'.

Using terms such as '*citizens*' and '*America*' enabled him to represent VCS as part of the practices of citizenry. Thus drawing upon a discourse of citizenship, he managed to position voluntary service as '*obligation*', '*responsibility*', '*commitment*' and '*duty*' of the American people to their country and community. In addition, he defined VCS as part of the practices of the American people by placing emphasis on core American principles, e.g. values, culture, history. This was his measure for constructing a collective identity that is American. By combining both these

representations, he defined VCS as a commonsensical practice of citizenship, and more specifically, constructed VCS as the target of the American citizenry subject.

Besides drawing upon a discourse of citizenship through legal connotations, he established VCS as a collective response of the people to help 'Other' 'Americans in need'. While there is a subtle element of 'Othering' in his representations of those in need of help, his focus is mainly on the concept of communitarianism for the strengthening of civic community. According to Fairclough (2000: 37-41), in his analysis of the language of 'New Labour', Blair's combined use of the 'one-nation politics' with a communitarian discourse is what differentiates his language from that of Thatcher's conservative discourse. Fairclough adds that this combination enabled Blair to successfully link commitments to 'national renewal' and the 'strengthening of communities' (including families)' as an important part of the 'Third Way' politics. This situates 'community' in moral terms and emphasises 'responsibilities' and 'duty' as the antithesis of 'rights'. These terms are commonly associated with a communitarian discourse, but today, through the combination with the 'one-nation' politics, their meanings have been changed. They are now 'morally-loaded' terms and are used more increasingly by politicians (Fairclough, 2000).

In a similar vein, my analysis of Bush's speech echoes this trend. It shows his use of lexical items such as '*duty*' ('*civic duty*'), '*responsibility*' and '*commitments*' to denote not only legal obligation but also the moral obligations of American citizenry. Thus, by drawing upon a moral discourse, Bush also combines

what Fairclough calls “a contractual discourse” that “interprets the distribution of rights and responsibilities metaphorically as a ‘contract’ or ‘deal’ between the individual and society (the community) or the individual and government” (Fairclough, 2000: 38). Terms such as ‘*duty*’, ‘*civic duty*’, ‘*responsibility*’ and ‘*commitment*’ in Bush’s speech, when combined or linked with terms such as ‘*citizen*’, ‘*American*’ ‘*nation*’, ‘*community*’, etc create a ‘legally’ binding relationship between the American people to their government and to their community, thus bringing together the concepts of civic democracy (i.e. communalism, liberation, freedom) with civic society (i.e. citizenship, Americanism).

The moral discourse takes precedence in Bush’s representations of VCS in the rest of the speech whereby, through terms such as ‘*compassion*’, ‘*acts of decency*’ and ‘*spirit of citizenship*’, it is defined as a moralised and moralising social practice. Using Christian principles by evoking religious, spiritual and mythical symbolisms, he declares the involvement of the American people in voluntary service as being willed by God. In the same way he also defines it as part of the message of the founding fathers of America. By doing so, he combines his conservative discourse of ‘one-nation’ politics with a more liberal communitarian discourse of moral values.

The 2001 Inaugural Address is mainly about Bush’s political philosophy of ‘compassionate conservatism’ and his call for service as part of his broader plans of promoting voluntary service to enlist faith and charitable organisations in the

delivery of social services (which is exemplified in the epigraph for this chapter). His drawing upon a moral and religious discourse is a measure to reinstate themes such as justice, fairness, character, tolerance, faith, moral leadership and American idealism etc, which are said to be the core principles of traditional conservative ideology (Kuypers et al., 2003). But combining his conservative discourse of 'one-nation' with the more liberal communitarian discourse is an important element that has helped to define Bush's compassionate conservatism as being different from traditional conservative rhetoric. And this, I argue, has also helped to increase his popularity with the American people in the aftermath of Clinton's impeachment trial and the exigencies of the September 11 attacks (see discussion in Chapter 4).

According to Kuypers et al., (2003), in general there have always been negative perceptions attached to traditional conservative principles such as responsibility and moral principles. Thus, while Bush's rhetoric embodies traditional conservative principles, his combined use of these different discourses, i.e. communitarian and citizenship to represent compassionate conservatism, shifts attention from such commonly held negative perceptions, to a more positive one. In this way, compassionate conservative rhetoric is a 'prototype of traditional conservatism' in the way it embodies traditional conservative values, but it is not a shift in ideology from traditional conservatism. By combining his conservative rhetoric with the moral/religious based communitarian discourse, Bush has managed to represent his traditional conservative ideology through a moderate sounding social and political agenda that reflects more liberal principles and values.

This is a measure in naturalising the ideological features of his political philosophy and agenda, which Fairclough (1989: 33-34) calls the 'emptying of the ideological contents of discourse' that enables the naturalisation of the ideology of those in power. When ideology becomes subsumed as a commonsensical practice it loses its ideological stance and comes to be naturalised. However, what is considered as commonsensical in this case has been defined by Bush and his administration. Drawing upon a moral and religious discourse, and situating VCS as a commonsensical practice of the American people (and citizenry) to define their social relations as citizens, is a crucial strategy for Bush to legitimise his Faith Based Initiative. This is also his means of legitimating a hegemonic practice of rule by consent – the means to manufacture consent in order to gain general compliance of the people for his ideology and policy of welfare reforms.

Rule by consent and VCS as a hegemonic practice are main themes investigated in the next chapter where I reveal how Bush achieves the objectives of his ideology in a time of crisis by constructing VCS as a need of the exigencies of September 11 rather than just a request by the President to fulfil the needs of his political agenda. Although Bush had made his appeal to the American people to volunteer in his 2001 speech, it is his call for service in the 2002 State of the Union Address that is said to have been successful in mobilising the Americans through voluntary service. (See discussion of the success of his national service initiative, the USA Freedom Corps, in Chapters 1 and 4). In the next chapter, I investigate Bush's 2002 State of the Union Address and his call for service that was made in a time of crisis and war.

The incredible parts of 9/11 is that the nation understands how important compassion is. I mean, the way I view this is that we're fighting evil, and I don't see any shades of gray. And the best way to fight evil is with acts of kindness. The best way to fight evil is for people to love their neighbour... One thing we ought to do in the nation is to find those children whose parents may be in prison, and team them up with a mentor, so that that child understands there is at least somebody in our society that says, "I love you". (George W. Bush, Address to Senior Corps, Jan 31 2002)

Chapter 6

Legitimizing the Social Practice of VCS via War

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I undertake a comparative analysis to that in Chapter 5. I investigate how voluntary service is recontextualised by Bush in his 2002 State of the Union Address. My analysis will unveil the main discourses that are evoked to legitimate voluntary service in the wake of the September 11 attacks. In this section, I start with an overview of the call for service message in this speech, and provide its general features, e.g. the actors. I start my analysis in Section 6.2 by looking at Bush's positioning of himself as president. In Section 6.3, I discuss the main discourses that he employs to legitimate VCS in this speech. This is followed, in Section 6.4, by my investigation of his use of the discursive representations of the two main elements of VCS, i.e. participants and activity. I illustrate how he employs the legitimating discourses in his representations. A crucial aspect of his representation of VCS is his reference to September 11 throughout this speech. In

Section 6.5, my analysis will show how he represents the September 11 attacks as part of his call for service message. In Section 6.6, I include a summary of the main points and my conclusions on how VCS comes to be legitimated and implemented as a hegemonic practice in the post September 11 period.

The two main concepts that I explore in this chapter are recontextualisation and legitimation. The two types of recontextualisation found in this speech include ‘substitution’ and ‘addition’. Addition is more dominant in this speech as the content of the entire speech is, in fact, a form of addition. The two main themes of 9/11 and the War On Terror have been added to the call for service message. In general, Bush uses ‘substitutions’ and mainly ‘additions’ (specifically ‘repetitions’, ‘reactions’, ‘goals’/‘purposes’ and ‘legitimations’) to recontextualise the elements of voluntary service in this speech, e.g. actors, social action, etc.

In Extract 1, the call for service message is situated between lines 273-335 and the core of the message appears in lines 306-314 ‘*My call tonight is for every American to commit at least two years... to the service of your neighbors and your nation*’; *I invite you to join the USA Freedom Corps*’.

Extract 1

306 My call tonight is for every American to commit at least two years –
307 4,000 hours over the rest of your lifetime – to the service of your
308 neighbors and your nation. (Applause). Many are already serving,
309 and I thank you. If you aren’t sure how to help, I’ve got a good place
310 to start. To sustain and extend the best that has emerged in America,
311 I invite you to join the new USA Freedom Corps. The Freedom
312 Corps will focus on three areas of need: responding in case of crisis
313 at home; rebuilding our communities; and extending American

314 compassion throughout the world.

Unlike his summons for the people to be '*citizens*' in his 2001 speech (discussed in previous chapter) in which he had used the directive '*I ask you to be...*' in an authoritative manner, in this speech Bush uses an invitation – '*I invite you to join...*'. He also uses the phrase, '*My call tonight is for every American to...*' (lines 306-310 above). Both phrases aim for some form of action from the people, i.e. their engagement in service. The call for service also includes some specifications, in the form of '*addition*' – how or where the service should be performed have been added to give more structure to the service involvement or experience. For example, a time frame is stated, i.e. in terms of the number of hours of service required ('*4,000 hours over the rest of your lifetime*' line 307), and also equated as 'two years' of one's life ('*two years over the rest of your lifetime*' line 306). It also metaphorically includes a 'place', as somewhere the volunteers can enlist ('*a good place to start*', '*join the USA Freedom Corps*' line 311).

The goals have been constructed in more specific terms and take on a broader scope which link volunteerism to the USA Freedom Corps ('*USA Freedom Corps focuses on three areas of need...*'), September 11 and the War On Terror (lines 311-314). These goals are formed as the immediate needs or the demand of the national climate in the aftermath of September 11, namely, homeland security ('*responding in case of crisis at home*'), service to community ('*rebuilding our communities*'), and global 'action' ('*extending American compassion throughout the world*'). There is a further addition as well: it is scripted as the overarching reason for his 'call for service' and the people's involvement in service. It draws upon the

national mood in the aftermath (*'to sustain and extend the best that has emerged in America'* line 310).

There are three main actors (highlighted in extract above) mentioned in his call for service message in lines 306-314. Unlike the 2001 request, here the actor 'government' has been excluded but appears in other parts of the speech. Thus, I do not explore this actor in this chapter. There is a more in-depth analysis of 'government' in Chapter 7. Once again, as in the 2001 speech, Bush represents himself through the personal pronoun '*I*'. He also refers to '*every American*' and '*neighbors*'.

In the following subsections, I undertake a similar analysis to that in Chapter 5 to examine how Bush asks the American people to serve in the wake of the attacks. I explore his 'substitutions' and mainly 'additions' to represent elements of voluntary service. This will enable me to locate the main discourses which he draws upon through his representations – discourses which construct his 'call for service' for the aim of legitimating the social practice of VCS.

6.2 Representing Authority and Power of the President

As the person delivering the speech, Bush is the main actor in the recontextualising social practice. In this section, I focus mainly on how he represents himself when asking the people to engage in voluntary service. Exploring his positioning of self will also reveal his positioning of others, e.g. 'Americans', and their relationship with him, and with each other. In general, Bush employs two main

strategies to represent his position, namely, ‘personal authority legitimization’ and ‘self-presentation frames’.

The use of the first person pronoun ‘I’ is also common in this speech (*‘I invite you to join the new USA Freedom Corps’* line 311).¹ According to Teten (2007: 676), such frequency in the use of ‘I’ indicates the number of “times when the president attempts to be ‘the president’ and speaks with all of the authority and respect of the office he holds”. Bush’s use of ‘I’ in the State of the Union Address indicates individualisation, power and strength. This helps to foreground Bush in a concrete way in a time of war. But his status is more pronounced as a form of authority and the person in command. Thus ‘personal authority legitimization’ or ‘personal authorisation’ (Van Leeuwen, 2007) is dominant in this speech.

The use of the personal pronoun ‘I’ in the main phrase of his call for service (lines 306-314, Extract 1) indicates the frame of ‘The Leader of the People’ which accentuates Bush’s authority and power as the national leader as well as his resolve for the people and the nation. Unlike in the Inaugural Address, in this speech, Bush also uses the pronoun ‘my’ as part of the asking which further helps him exercise his presidential power (*‘My call tonight is for every American to commit at least two years...to the service of your neighbours and your nation’* lines 306-308). In his analysis of the State of the Union Addresses of past and current American presidents, Teten (2007: 675-76) observes that the usage of words such as ‘I’, ‘me’

¹ The 2001 Inaugural Address and the 2002 State of the Union Address are not comparable in length: the former comprises 158 lines while the latter is 368 lines in length. For this reason I do not do a frequency count of the usage of the pronouns ‘I’, ‘me’, ‘my’, ‘you’, ‘your’ and ‘we’ in both these speeches.

and ‘my’ inform an ‘authoritative rhetoric’. This is echoed by Tulis (1987: 81) that “authoritative speech combines the power of the command with the power of persuasion (or force of argument)”. Authority rhetoric, thus offers “the suggestion that leadership stems from a person’s formal position... With an officially sanctioned title, the holder of that title can legitimately direct others for the achievement of a goal” (Dorsey, 2002: 4).

In this speech, Bush’s authoritative rhetoric incorporates the two main themes of 9/11 and the War On Terror. For example, in lines 128-130 (Extract 2) he presents himself as a fearless leader (*‘I will not wait on events while dangers gather. I will not stand by as peril draws closer and closer’*), who will face the most dangerous regimes and destructive elements, to protect and save the people of America (*‘The United States will not permit the world’s most dangerous regimes to threaten us’* lines 130-132).

Extract 2

128 We’ll deliberate, yet time is not on our side. I will not wait on
129 events, while dangers gather. I will not stand by, as peril draws
130 closer and closer. The United States of America will not permit the
131 world’s most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world’s most
132 destructive weapons.

Within this context of the attacks and War On Terror, his role as the leader of the American people is more prominent through what I call is the ‘The Guardian of the People’ frame that enables him to present himself not just as the leader of the people but also their ‘protector’ or ‘saviour’. Bush’s use of ‘The Guardian’ frame is distinct in another of his speeches in relation to voluntary service which was

delivered after the 2002 State of the Union Address. Here he declares overtly his role as their protector:

My most important job as the President is to protect America... (George W. Bush promotes Senior Corps, January 31, 2002)

According to Silberstein (2002), in the context of a national crisis such as September 11, it is common for political leaders to represent themselves as the ‘saviours’ or ‘commander in chief’ for the purpose of having citizens look to them for guidance and vision (Hutcheson, et. al, 2004: 27-28). Teten suggests that it is the president’s use of authoritative pronouns ‘I’ and ‘my’ in the State of the Union Address that “objectifies him as commander in chief and suggests that his rhetoric holds value because of that position alone” (2007: 676).

Bush’s authoritative stance is further defined through his use of ‘you’ and ‘your’ that are part of a ‘directive rhetoric’ (Teten, 2007). ‘You’ and ‘your’ appear in the main phrase of his call for service (*‘to the service of **your** neighbours and **your** nation’; I invite **you** to join the USA Freedom Corps’* lines 306-314, Extract 1). Their usage is similar to that in the Inaugural Address, as part of a direct request for action from the people. This helps Bush define service as the American people’s, rather than his, responsibility. Teten’s (2007) explanation gives another perspective on Bush’s use of ‘you’ and ‘your’ to define his use of an authoritarian discourse.

According to Teten, rhetoric directed at others is an innovation of the founding period, in which the initial presidents spoke with high levels of the directive rhetoric when addressing people and the Congress. This was mainly due to

the fact that they embraced the role of popular leader. In the case of George Washington, for example, his frequent use of the directive rhetoric was due to the closeness he felt to members of the Congress who had helped him shape the Constitution. Therefore it was often a reference to call for attention of the Congress to specific issues rather than being a command. Over the years, the usage of this rhetoric by the American presidents had reduced. But in recent times, presidents of the twentieth century, such as George W. Bush who are allegedly driven by popular opinion and cognizant of their popular leadership role, are using the rhetoric at higher levels, similar to that practiced by early presidents (Teten, 2007: 677-8).

My analysis of Bush's representations of self in the Inaugural Address (in Chapter 4) as well as the State of the Union Address indicates that Bush makes his leadership role explicit via the 'Leader of the People' frame. His use of the directive rhetoric in the State of the Union Address indicates that the popular leadership role he is projecting is due to a key factor. Altheide (2004: 293) suggests that crisis provides political leaders with an opportunity to "present themselves as leaders to dramatically define the situation as tragic but hopeful, and to bring out the 'resolve' of national character" (Altheide, 2004: 293). Bush's face-enactment through the 'Guardian of the People' frame draws on the general mood of the American people in the aftermath of the attacks, to enable him to represent himself in a more powerful role. This is due to the fact that there was a greater perception and emotional dependence of the people towards their president in the days following September 11 (Beasley, 2004: 4). Beasley recounts the general atmosphere in the nation:

Many of us might recall, for instance, waiting anxiously that evening to hear President George W. Bush speak to the nation in a televised address. On September 11, perhaps more than on any other date in recent memory, the American people needed to hear from their president. They needed to hear a message of reassurance, resolve, and unity that only a president of the United States could provide. (Beasley, 2004: 4)

To further affirm his popular leadership role in the days following the attacks, Bush uses ‘repetition’ (Van Leeuwen, 1993a) and draws upon the two themes of ‘September 11’ and ‘War On Terror’. These themes are linked to the values and principles said to reflect the American ethos (Hutcheson et al., 2004) such as freedom, liberty, equality, justice, etc. ‘Repetition’ as a form of addition involves the same element of a social practice that may occur a number of times, or may be referred to through a series of synonyms to pass off as the same element/s of the social practice (Van Leeuwen, 1993a: 66-67). Repetitions occur for the purpose of redundancy and cohesion in texts. When element/s of a social practice is/are repeated, ‘substitution’ and ‘additions’ of new elements can also be included. But importantly, it is when all the ‘repetitions’ are strung together that the real purpose of the repetitions becomes obvious.

New angles, new semantic features are then added by each new expression in such a way that a kind of ongoing concept formation takes place, of which one becomes fully aware only when analysing the strings of lexical elements referring to the same participant or activity or other element of the social practice. (Van Leeuwen, 1993a: 66-67, emphasis in original)

Tannen (1989: 85) also states that repetition works in moving audiences in oratorical discourse. In what follows, I look at how Bush evokes specific themes through repetition, to emphasise his role as authority, protector and as people’s ‘Guardian’. I consider how drawing upon these themes evokes specific discourses to

legitimate his call for service and in turn the social practice of voluntary service in the post September 11 period.

6.2.1 Repetitions of 'War' and 'September 11'

According to Montgomery (2005: 149-150), the discourse of war was privileged by Bush and his administration in the aftermath of September 11. This is also true of Bush's 2002 State of the Union Address that has come to be known as the 'Axis of Evil' speech (Edwards, 2004: 175). It has its entire agenda framed within the notion of war, in this way foregrounding war as the overarching theme in the speech. Through the 'repetition' of lexical items such as '*evil*' (five times), '*war*' (twelve times), '*terrorist/s*' (nineteen times), '*terror*' (ten times), '*enemy*'/'*enemies*' (six times), '*freedom*' (thirteen times) and '*September 11*' (four times), Bush constructs a 'discourse of war'. Some examples of his use of these lexical items include lines 58-62 (Extract 3) and lines 66-70 (Extract 4), where I have underlined the terms.

Extract 3

58 What we have found in Afghanistan confirms that, far from ending
59 there, our war against terror is only beginning. Most of the 19 men
60 who hijacked planes on September the 11th were trained in
61 Afghanistan's camps, so were tens of thousands of
62 others.

Extract 4

66 Thanks to the work of our law enforcement officials and coalition

67 partners, hundreds of terrorists have been arrested. Yet, tens of
68 thousands of trained terrorists are still at large. These enemies view
69 the entire world as a battlefield, and we must pursue them wherever
70 they are.

Bush had started the speech with '*our nation is at war*', and throughout the speech referred to '*war*' as his central theme (see examples below).

3 ...As we gather tonight, our nation is at war,...
59 ..., our war against terror is only beginning...
133 Our war on terror is well begun, but it is only begun...
143 ... We will win this war;
152 ... It costs a lot to fight this war...
196-197 ... To achieve these great national objectives – to win the war,

His call for the American people to volunteer is also constructed using similar lexical items that refer to the attacks. In lines 292-297 (Extract 5), as a precursor to his call for service which appears in lines 306-314 (Extract 1), Bush draws on terms such as '*September 11*', '*evil*' and '*attacked*' and links them with other lexical items, such as '*citizens*' and '*obligations*' that signify voluntary service through legal connotations as the responsibilities of the American people to their country, and to each other. Both '*citizens*' and '*obligations*' are used here in a similar fashion to that in the Inaugural address. This reflects Cerulo's (2002) view that Bush had promoted communalism by putting the good of the citizenry above any group or individual in the aftermath (in Altheide, 2004: 291).

Extract 5

292 None of us would wish the evil that was done on September the
293 11th. Yet after America was attacked, it was as if our entire country
294 looked into a mirror and saw our better selves. We were reminded
295 that we are citizens, with obligations to each other, to our country,

296 and to history. We began to think less of the goods we can
297 accumulate, and more about the good we can do.

But framing the terms '*citizens*' and '*obligation*' within a rhetoric of war also implies another crucial theme, namely, national unity. Bush's lexical choice of '*evil*' and '*war*', according to Entman (2003: 416), was his strategy of using September 11 to 'unite' the country behind his solution and agenda. Reminding the public of the 'evil' helped to maintain their support; merely mentioning the word "could cue a whole series of conscious and unconscious thoughts and feelings about September the 11– and promote the deference to presidential authority that typically occurs during wartime" (Entman, 2003: 416). This makes his 'Guardian' frame more distinct.

As an example, in lines 366-371 (Extract 6), Bush calls for unification through solidarity of the people in order to fight '*evil*' ('*must be opposed*'). But he also affirms their unity through terms such as '*one country*' (line 370) and '*together*' (line 371) that constructs them as a collective, homogenous and consensual group.

Extract 6

366 ...Those of us
367 who lived through challenging times have been changed
368 by them. We've come to know truths that will never
369 question: evil is real, and it must be opposed. (Applause.). Beyond
370 all differences of race or creed, we are one country, mourning
371 together and facing danger together.

Additionally, Bush uses the *collective* and *inclusive* pronoun 'we' to foreground the element of 'nationhood' (lines 366-368) as a way of establishing a

sense of community, thereby indicating that he belongs together with the American people to reach the same goals. He also employs other collective pronouns such as ‘our’ and ‘us’ in a similar way to establish collective identity (see Extract 5, lines 292-297). Teten (2007: 673-4) calls these pronouns ‘identification pronouns’ and when the president uses them through repetition, he is attempting to “build consensus and agreement by creating identification between the citizens of the United States and himself; if they identify with what he speaks, he will receive greater support and have the ability to proceed further with policy objectives”. Graham et al., (2004: 45-46) explain that Bush’s constant repetition of ‘we’ and ‘our’ serves as a rhetorical device for him to bind himself to the nation.

6.2.2 Repetitions of the American Core Value – ‘Freedom’

Besides using ‘September 11’ and ‘war’ to promote authority through the ‘Guardian’ frame, Bush refers to culturally significant themes, i.e. ‘*freedom*’, to gain the support of the American people and unite them through his resolve, i.e. war, voluntary service. ‘Freedom’ is said to be associated with the values and ideals of the American people such as liberty, equality, justice etc. It is a prominent feature of the notion that America is an exceptional nation and has thus been interwoven within the fabric of American society, as the supreme and universal values of the ‘American way of life’ (Kissinger, 1994: 32-3).

Buzan observes that this idea of the US as unique and exceptional is constantly reiterated in American political rhetoric. The belief in the essential

rightness of American values has been greatly reinforced by the fact that the US has been the victor in three ideological world wars of the twentieth century (Buzan, 2004: 155). And the notion of 'freedom' has served as a pretext in every one of these wars (Ivie, 1987: 27). As Lazar and Lazar (2004: 228-9) see it, when Bush links freedom to, for example, 'peace', 'liberty', and 'justice', the notion of freedom is a very particular politico-economic ideology that appropriates to itself attributes of righteousness. Thus, the US claim of a high moral ground is reinforced, together with the "universalization of the values that it advocates as normative".

In Bush's speech, the term '*freedom*' is repeated 13 times in symbolic affirmation of such American core values that is said to be a part of the 'American way of life'. For example, the service initiative is named the '*USA Freedom Corps*'. His reference to the budget plan for the fiscal year 2002, which includes massive spending for the military, is introduced in the name of '*freedom*' ('*the price of freedom and security is high*' see lines 161-164, Extract 7).

Extract 7

161 My budget includes the largest in defense spending in two
162 decades -- because while the price of freedom and security is high, it
163 is never too high. Whatever it costs to defend our country, we will
164 pay. (Applause.)

He cites 'freedom' when referring to those who died in the war ('*all who gave their lives for freedom*' line 48, see Appendix 2). He also constructs 'freedom' as a trait ('*so long as nations harbor terrorists, freedom is at risk*' lines 70-71, see Appendix 2), and as the fundamental principle of the American people created by

their leaders, which he affirms today (*'We choose freedom'* lines 379-383, Extract 8).

Extract 8

379 Our enemies send other peoples' children on missions of suicide and
380 murder. They embrace tyranny and death as a cause and a creed. We
381 stand for a different choice, made long ago, on the day of our
382 founding. We affirm it again today. We choose freedom and the
383 dignity of every life (Applause).

While the noun '*citizen*' was repeated in threes in the Inaugural Address, in this speech, it is the term '*freedom*' (lines 384-386, Extract 9) that is delivered in a three-part list (*'freedom's price', freedom's power, and freedom's victory'* lines 385-386). Freedom delivered in three-part list in this speech helps to place more emphasis and strengthen his argument that 'freedom' is what America is all about – something precious and a commodity which needs to be fought for and regained.

Extract 9

384 Steadfast in our purpose, we now press on. We have known
385 freedom's price. We have shown freedom's power. And in this great
386 conflict, my fellow Americans, we will see freedom's victory.

According to Entman (2003: 2), the use of words and images, such as 'freedom' that have a cultural significance, further increases the possibility of stimulating more "support of or opposition to the sides of political conflict". Bush uses the term 'freedom' to refer to various aspects, e.g. his budget and the national service initiative – the USA Freedom Corps. He also refers to 'freedom' as the reason for his War On Terror and to what the terrorists are supposedly opposing.

Kellner posits that the term ‘freedom’ was repeatedly used by Bush and his administration for the purpose of gaining support from the American people by implying that the war against terrorism was being fought for ‘freedom’ (Kellner, 2004: 45-46).

This is evident in Bush’s speech a day after the attack (September 12th 2001) when he said, “Freedom and democracy are under attack”. Bush’s naming of his service initiative – the ‘USA Freedom Corps’ – draws attention to the term ‘freedom’ to prompt the American people’s involvement in voluntary service as the resolve to fight terrorism. In this way, he incites nationalistic sentiments and collectivises the people in order to gain their support for his political agenda. Bloom (1990 cited in Hutcheson et al., 2004: 28-29) states that a nation will “endure only if its mass citizenry form a psychological identification with the nation that prompts an internalization of national symbols”. Thus if citizens make a strong psychological identification with the nation and internalise national symbols, political leaders are better able to mobilise public sentiment toward a political goal in times of crisis by using communication strategies that emphasize positive themes of national identity (Cottam & Cottam, 2001 cited in Hutcheson et. al., 2004: 28-29). According to Kellner (2004: 44-48), the September 11 attacks symbolised an attack on American culture and symbols. The collapse of the World Trade Center in the heart of New York City represented the threat to western capitalism and the body of the nation, while the attack on Pentagon was an attack on the nation’s security and defense system. These elements symbolise American ideals and values such as freedom, liberty, and democracy.

6.3 Discourses of Authority, War and Nationalism for the Legitimation of VCS

The discussion so far points to three main discourses that are evident in Bush's representations of himself as the 'Guardian of the People', namely, an authoritarian discourse and the discourses of war and nationalism. In the aftermath, his proclamation of authority is heightened. He constantly refers to September 11 and war. In order to gain the support of the American people for his resolve in the aftermath, he draws upon unity and nationalism. In this section, I demonstrate how Bush draws upon these themes which in turn define the main discourses he uses to legitimate VCS.

6.3.1 Authoritarian Discourse

Bush employs an 'authoritarian discourse' to construct his call for service through the 'Guardian of the People' frame. While distinguishing his role as authority and commander during a time of crisis, he also addresses the American people in different ways. He identifies himself as the leader of the nation, using 'authority rhetoric' (Teten, 2007) via pronouns 'I' and 'my', to recommend policy initiatives he wants to see passed by the Congress (*'I ask Congress'* line 233; *'I urge the Senate'* lines 235-236, see Extract 10).

Extract 10

141 Our first priority must always be the security of our nation, and that
142 will be reflected in the budget I send to Congress. My budget

143 supports three great goals for America: We will win this war; we'll
144 protect our homeland; and we will revive our economy.

In a similar vein, he also aims for the support of the people in other agendas,
e.g. voluntary service, through the use of both *authority and directive rhetoric*
(Teten, 2007), with pronouns 'I', 'my', 'me', 'you' and 'your' in his call for service
(*'My call tonight is for every American to commit at least two years...to the service
of your neighbours and your nation....I Invite you to join the new USA Freedom
Corps'* lines 306-311, Appendix 2; see lines 273-279, Extract 11).

Extract 11

273 Members, you and I will work together in the months ahead on other
274 issues: productive farm policy...
275 ...-- broader home ownership, especially among minorities...
276 ...-- and ways to encourage the good work of charities and
277 faith-based groups. (Applause.) I ask you to join me on these
278 important domestic issues in the same spirit of cooperation we've
279 applied to our war against terrorism.

In Extract 11, service is referred to as the '*good work of charities and faith-based groups*', a crucial factor that will be discussed in Chapter 7.

6.3.2 Discourse of War

Besides the 'authoritarian discourse', my discussion in the previous section
illustrated that Bush evokes a 'discourse of war'. In fact, his authoritative position is
further heightened by his reference to 'war' (*We will win this war*' line 143, Extract
10; *and I ask you to join...we've applied to our war against terrorism*' lines 277-
279, Extract 11). He evokes a 'discourse of war' through lexical items such as 'war',

'evil', 'attack', etc. According to Ross (2002: 303), the concept of war is culturally significant to the American people. This is echoed in Ryan's (2004) argument that Bush framed the September 11 attacks within the rhetoric of war instead of criminality or terrorist act to enable his pursuit of military actions, due to its cultural significance for the Americans. A war discourse also provided the country with a more vital sense of national unity and purpose (Ryan, 2004: 18-19). Thus, the call for service and the introduction of the USA Freedom Corps are 'scripted' as part of this 'discourse of war', especially through mention of the attacks. This is mainly to ensure the support of the people. In this way, the 'discourse of war' is another legitimating discourse – discourse that legitimates the social practice of voluntary service in the post September 11 period.

Bush's discourse of war draws upon the broader context of a national crisis, namely, the September 11 attacks. National crises, such as September 11, have their uses in shaping public opinion. Edelman (1977) sets forth the view that the language in which a crisis is discussed is selective in what it highlights and what it masks because it justifies the actions of leaders and the sacrifices they demand. It also "suggests a need for unity and for common sacrifice" (Edelman, 1977: 44-45). Bush's representation of himself as the 'Guardian' manifests his authority in a distinct manner. Drawing on the role of national leadership in this way, says Altheide (2004: 292), "promotes attacking a target (e.g., crime, terrorism), anticipates further victimization, curtails civil liberties, and stifles dissent as being unresponsive to citizen needs or even 'unpatriotic'". National unity, therefore, is central in Bush's call for service in the aftermath because it was made in a climate in

which dissent would have meant opposition and become equated with anti-Americanism (Hutcheson, 2004).

6.3.3 Discourse of Nationalism

Besides drawing upon the concept of war, Bush uses other culturally significant values and principles of the American people, e.g. freedom as part of his plea to the common values of the American people in order to unite the nation through his agenda (see discussion earlier in Section 6.2.2). Graham et al., (2004: 46) point to Bush's citing of the images of the destruction of the World Trade Center as well his reference to other terms such as 'great nation', 'resolve', 'faith', 'justice', etc. in his speeches in the wake of the attacks, as part of his appeal for nationalism. In a similar vein, in this speech Bush draws upon the notions of 'nation' and 'national identity' to gain people's support for his call for service and the USA Freedom Corps.

National identity underscores the idea of common characteristics that subjectively define membership in a particular community (Citrin, et al., 1990). In most countries, national identity is based on specific attributes such as a common language, religion or ethnic heritage; but the foundations of American identity are fundamentally different (Gleason, 1980) because American nationalism is defined in terms of the people's commitment to a set of liberal political principles, e.g. democracy, liberty, freedom, equality, and individualism (Beasley, 2001). This is known as American Exceptionalism or American Idealism (Kissinger, 1994;

Beasley, 2004). Thus regardless of one's origins or background, being American simply means endorsing this national 'creed' (Huntington, 1981). For example, in this speech, in lines 138-140 (Extract 12), Bush calls for greater responsibility of the American people, a call to action to defend 'freedom'. Here he draws on their sense of duty as Americans ('*History has called America...it is our responsibility and our privilege...*' lines 138-139). This statement lies at the heart of American Exceptionalist ideology and suggests a superior nature of the people.

Extract 12

138 History has called America and our allies to action, and it
139 is both our responsibility and our privilege to fight freedom's
140 fight. (Applause.)

In the epigraph of this chapter, Bush's overt declaration of authority and the nation's superiority is evident in his use of the superlative '*greatest*' and the delivery of '*I'm proud...*' in a 'three part list' to strengthen his argument and claim that America is '*the greatest nation on the face of the Earth*'.

I'm proud of our country. I'm proud of the spirit of America. I am proud to be the President of the greatest nation on the face of the Earth. George W. Bush, Address to Senior Corps, Jan 31 2002

This superiority is invoked not just for defending 'freedom' but also for spreading it. In lines 343-345 and 352-356 (Extract 13), Bush essentially reifies his audience (Americans) as the defenders and propagators of the so-called American values to the rest of the world, i.e. 'freedom/liberty', 'justice' ('*we have a greater*

objective' line 354; *'America....advocate these values around the world'* lines 352-353).

Extract 13

343 America will lead by defending
344 liberty and justice because they are right and true and unchanging
345 all people everywhere. (Applause.)

346 No nation owns this aspirations, and no nation is exempt from
347 them...
348 ...

352 America will take the side of brave men and women who advocate
353 these values around the world, including the Islamic world, because
354 we have a greater objective than eliminating threats and containing
355 resentment.

Beasley (2001) explains that US Presidents since George Washington have articulated American uniqueness as grounded in these civil-religious beliefs and core values that remain central as US idealism. Bush's concept of nation is based on the unification of the American people into a common community or nation. According to Anderson (1991: 5-7), the concept of nation implies 'an imagined community' and it is different from an actual community because "the members of even the smallest nation will never know of their fellow-members, meet, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion". Therefore the idea of nation is not only 'imagined' but it is imagined as a 'community' because

regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible,...for so many millions of people, ...as willing to die for such limited imaginings. (Anderson, 1991: 5)

For example, my analysis has shown that in lines 369-371 (Extract 6), Bush uses the phrase ‘*one country*’ belonging ‘*together*’ to construct the American people as a homogenous group despite their differences (‘*Beyond all differences of race or creed, we are one country, mourning together and facing danger together.*’). His call for unification of the people evokes the national mood in the aftermath which is evident in his reference to the nation’s grief and the threat they are said to be facing (‘*mourning together*’ and ‘*facing danger together*’). In this way, he assigns everyone including himself to one inclusive categorisation – through their distinct identity as a nation, and as Americans. In the following example (Extract 14), he identifies himself as one of the people.

Extract 14

145 September the 11th brought out the best in America, and the best in
146 this Congress. And I join the American people in applauding
147 your unity and resolve. (Applause). Now Americans need to have this
148 same spirit directed toward addressing problems here at home. I’m a
149 proud member of my party – yet we act to win the war, protect our
150 people, and create jobs in America, we must act, first and foremost,
151 not as Republicans, not as Democrats, but as Americans.

Here his collective reference ‘*Americans*’ takes precedence over their different political affiliations, ‘*Republicans*’ etc. The American people’s unity is linked to September 11 in line 145 (above). He constructs it as the good that came out of the ‘evil’ (‘*September the 11th brought out the best in America*’). His use of the personal pronouns ‘we’, ‘us’ and ‘our’ in the inclusive sense is part of the *identification rhetoric* (Tenet, 2007) which is another frame of reference to construct the notion of nationhood (see Extract 14, for use of inclusive ‘we’). This plays an

important rhetorical role in the ‘discourse of nationalism’. Wodak et al., (1999b) have shown how a ‘we discourse’ has been used in the discourses of national identity in Austria to construct a united national community. Flowerdew et al., (2007: 273-75) explain that as nationalism is a concept associated with patriotism, in practice there is no steadfast distinction between the two. After September 11, both nationalism and patriotism were said to have resurfaced as a prevalent force and have become a central feature of American political rhetoric and policies (Flowerdew et al., 2007: 272-75).

In this speech, Bush addresses the American people as an inclusive ‘we’. His address includes the phrase ‘*my fellow Americans*’ (line 386, Extract 9). Both these elements hail an imagined national community. These features of his discourse that are combined with instances of his praises of the audience, through mention of their good points as an assumed national character (‘*the American people*’), draw on the notion of an already ‘established nation state’. I illustrate this point through the concept of ‘reactions’ – another form of ‘additions’ (Van Leeuwen, 1993a: 67-69). ‘Reactions’ involve some elements of the participants’ subjective reactions that are added to the recontextualisation of social practices (Van Leeuwen, 1993a: 67-69). Using ‘I’, and speaking from his position as the President and more specifically as ‘the Guardian’, Bush as the main actor in the recontextualising social practice provides his evaluations of the national character of the people in lines 280-288 (Extract 15).

Extract 15

280 During the last few months, I've been humbled and privileged to
281 see the true character of this country in a time of testing. Our
282 enemies believed America was weak and materialistic, that we would
283 splinter in fear and selfishness. They were as wrong as they are
284 evil. (Applause.)

285 The American people have responded magnificently, with courage
286 and compassion, strength and resolve. As I have met the heroes,
287 hugged the families, and looked into the tired faces of rescuers, I
288 have stood in awe of the American people.

He draws on the general patriotic stance of the American people in the days following the attacks (*'During the last few months'*) whereby the people are referred to through collective terms that define them as a homogenous, consensual group, e.g. *'this country'* (line 281), *'America'* (line 282), which are forms of 'spatialisation' (Van Leeuwen, 1995). He also provides his own emotions, e.g. (*'humbled'* and *'privileged'* (line 280) and *'in awe'* that refer to the people (*'the true character of this country'*, line 281). This is a kind of 'appraisal' (Van Leeuwen, 1995), which refers to the inherent goodness of the people. Both the phrases used to describe the people identify them as having exceptional qualities, e.g. *'heroes'*, *'I have stood in awe of the American people'*; *'Americans responded magnificently with courage and compassion, strength and resolve'*. These phrases draw upon American Exceptionalist thoughts.

But in order to construct American identity, Bush also distinguishes another group of actors as part of his 'reactions' (see example in Extract 15) throughout his speech. This group of actors is neither a part of the social practice of voluntary

service nor the recontextualising social practice – namely, those he has labelled the ‘*terrorists*’. They are not part of either social practices, but Bush’s reference to the ‘*terrorists*’ helps in the legitimization of his service initiative, ‘The USA Freedom Corps’. It also helps to de-legitimize this group of actors, as the reason for war. He uses binary logic of ‘us versus them’ by defining the American people as good while making the ‘other’ evil. This means that all traits of aggression and wickedness are directed towards the ‘other’ while at the same time constituting all Americans as good and pure. In lines 280-288 (see Extract 15), he refers to them as ‘*our enemies*’ (lines 281-282) through negative evaluations as ‘*evil*’ (line 284). This is said in contrast to the ‘American people’; therefore ‘us’ is told through accounts of ‘them’ (*‘terrorists/enemies’*).

Bush uses binary reductionism based on the notion of fear – that the identity of ‘us’ is dependent on a ‘fear’ of them (cf. Huntington, 2002). In lines 62-65, for example (Extract 16), Bush refers to ‘them’ as ‘*Thousands of dangerous killers*’, and draws upon the notion of fear through negative connotations such as ‘*methods of murder*’ ‘*ticking time bombs*’.

Extract 16

62 ...Thousands of dangerous killers, schooled in the methods of
63 murder,...are now spread
64 throughout the world like ticking time bombs, set to go off without
65 warning.

Hutcheson et al., (2004: 30) call this strategy the “demonization of the ‘enemy’ which followed a familiar ‘good-versus-evil’ discourse employed

effectively during the Cold War and the Gulf War”. They add that in this way, Bush addresses Americans – ‘we as the forces of good’, and the Other – as the ‘forces of darkness’. This is evident throughout the 2002 State of the Union Address, where Bush labels ‘them’ as ‘*terrorists*’, ‘*enemies*’, ‘*trained terrorists*’ (lines 66-72) and ‘*terrorist parasites*’ (line 93), while defining the American people as ‘good’. For example, he makes specific mention to First Lady Laura Bush (line 291) as a prototypical American whose qualities are to be followed and revered (*‘I hope you will join me in expressing thanks to one American for the strength and calm and comfort she brings to our nation in crisis..’*).

In summary, Bush’s construction of ‘them’ as evil in the 2002 State of the Union Address is a facet of his discourse of nationalism to gain the support of the American people for his political agenda. It is done simply through lexical reiteration of the word ‘evil’ (cf. Lazar and Lazar, 2004; Kellner, 2004). He uses a Manichean discourse in the traditions of ‘good and evil’ and thus ‘us versus them’ – a strategy used to construct a collective sense of ‘us the Americans’. This dualism also infers that ‘we the Americans’ do not possess ‘evil’ and ‘they’ do not have any ‘goodness’ (Lazar and Lazar, 2004). In Bush’s speech with regard to volunteerism, this dualism of ‘us’ representing ‘good’ and them as ‘evil’ is also apparent in his representations of the elements of the social practice of voluntary service. This point will be discussed in the following section.

6.4 Representing VCS via the Discourses of War and Nationalism

Bush's use of an authoritarian discourse was discussed in the earlier part of this chapter by looking at his call for service. In this section I look at how the discourses of war and nationalism are used in his recontextualisation of the main elements of VCS, i.e., participants and activity. I look at his positioning of the American people as volunteers, and who the 'people in need' are in this speech. I also consider how he represents the activity of performing service.

6.4.1 Representation of the People of America as a National Community

In general, Bush uses terms such as '*America*', '*American*' and '*citizens*' in a similar fashion to his reference in the Inaugural Address (see Chapter 5).

- **Citizens**

Through 'spatialisation' (Van Leeuwen, 1995) which foregrounds the people's association to their country, Bush draws upon a nationalist discourse to call for unity and support of his agenda. In addition, the elements of American exceptionalist ideology are more prominent in his representations, which I had demonstrated in my analysis in the previous section. He uses the term '*citizens*' to refer to the people. In lines 294-295 (Extract 5), for example, the term '*citizens*' is used to refer to the American people in the same way as in the Inaugural Address, whereby there is 'identification' (Van Leeuwen, 1996) in terms of what the people

are, and also ‘functionalisation’ (Van Leeuwen, 1996), with regard to what they do as citizens. He employs the key terms ‘*obligation*’ and draws upon elements of the discourses of citizenship (‘*citizens*’ and ‘*obligation*’, line 295) and communitarianism. He also evokes a contractual discourse that binds the volunteers to the government and the community (‘*obligations to each other, to our country, and to history*’ lines 295-296).

However, because a different context has been added in this speech, these nouns become part of the ‘addition’ – September 11. The term ‘*citizens*’ is used to reflect the patriotic upsurge of the people in the aftermath in lines 294-295 (‘*Yet after America was attacked, it was as if our entire country looked into a mirror and saw our better selves. We were reminded that we are **citizens, with obligations to each other, to our country, and to history***’), which places emphasis on their unity as a nation, rather than just their role as citizens.

- **America, Americans**

Another example is in lines 306-308 (Extract 1), which is the core of his call for service. The message is clearly for the people to volunteer, thus his use of the noun ‘*American*’ is a directive to the people to become ‘volunteers’. Here the collective noun ‘*American*’ is used with the determinant ‘*every*’ as the pre-modifier. While the noun ‘*American*’ collectivizes through identification, the determinant ‘*every*’ individualises and thus refers to every individual member of the country, thus giving the individuals agency by foregrounding their role as ‘volunteers’ (‘*My call tonight is for **every American** to commit at least two years --- 4,000 hours over*

the rest of your lifetime – to the service of your neighbors and your nation’ lines 306-308). This suggests that the call for service has two purposes: firstly, it acts as a call for the people to volunteer; but by asking them to volunteer, it also doubles as a call for the unification of the people as a nation-state.

- **Volunteers**

Unlike the Inaugural address, there are more overt references made to the people as ‘*volunteers*’ in this speech. But in all three instances in which the term ‘*volunteers*’ is used, it refers to the recruits of the USA Freedom Corps for the purposes of achieving its goals that have been broadly outlined as homeland security, rebuilding communities, and global action for peace/freedom (e.g. lines 315-318 Extract 17; lines 324; 327, see Appendix 2). This helps construct Americans as exceptional people who are distinct from the rest of the world.

Extract 17

315 One purpose of the USA Freedom Corps will be homeland security.
316 America needs retired doctors and nurses who can be mobilized in
317 major emergencies; volunteers to help police and fire departments;
318 transportation and utility workers well-trained in spotting danger.

For example, in lines 315-318, he specifies three distinct groups: ‘*retired doctors and nurses, volunteers, and transport and utility workers*’. Here they are ‘functionalised’ in terms of what they do/their occupation. But his construction of the purpose for their involvement in VCS takes into account the immediate need in the aftermath, i.e., ‘*major emergencies*’ and ‘*spotting danger*’ (lines 317-318). In lines 298-305 (Extract 18) using abstract nouns (‘*sacrifice*’, ‘*brotherhood*’ etc.),

Bush describes the climate in the aftermath by focusing on the qualities of those who worked on Ground Zero, e.g., *firefighters, soldiers, and citizens* (lines 300-301, Extract 18) to place emphasis on voluntary service.

Extract 18

298 For too long our culture has said, "If it feels good, do it." Now
299 America is embracing a new ethic and new creed. "Let's roll."
300 ...In the sacrifice of soldiers, the fierce brotherhood of
301 firefighters, and the bravery and generosity of ordinary citizens, ...
302 ...
303... We want to be a nation that serves goals larger than self.

He pre-modifies these nouns with terms that extract the qualities being focused on, e.g., giving to the country ('*the sacrifice of soldiers*'); solidarity, kinship or sharing of common goals ('*the fierce brotherhood of firefighters*'); courage, kindness ('*bravery and generosity of ordinary citizens*'). He 'distils' (Van Leeuwen, 1996) the values and qualities of *firefighters, soldiers* and '*citizens*' (volunteers) on Ground Zero; compares and classifies them as the roles and obligations of the people to their country. By categorising '*ordinary citizens*' as belonging together with '*soldiers*' and '*firefighters*', he generates the view that '*ordinary citizens*' do not need to be '*firefighters*' or '*soldiers*', because as '*volunteers*' through obligation to their country and community, they are equally heroic and exceptional.

By drawing upon September 11, Bush has reformulated his initial agenda of enlisting the American people to engage in voluntary service (the original message in his 2001 Inaugural Address) into the goals of the USA Freedom Corps – an

initiative launched in the aftermath of the attacks as a necessary part of America's resolution for security and national unity.

Extract 19

319 Our country also needs citizens working to rebuild our
320 communities. We need mentors to love children, especially children
321 whose parents are in prison. And we need more talented teachers in
322 troubled schools. USA Freedom Corps will expand and improve the
323 good efforts of AmeriCops and Senior Corps to recruit more than
324 200,000 new volunteers.

In Extract 19, the nouns '*volunteers*'/'*citizens*' are represented as part of the goals of the USA Freedom Corps and its sister branches, AmeriCorps and Senior Corps, which are disaster preparedness and response programs said to have contributed to Bush's successful revival of civic democracy after September 11 (Gazley and Brudley, 2005: 132). The intended recruitment of volunteers is the ongoing theme in subsequent lines (see lines 325-329, Extract 20). The purpose is to 'double' the volunteers for the Peace Corps, a program that enlists Americans to serve in various parts of the world (see Chapter 3 for more information). Once again the volunteers are referred to as '*citizens*' ('*America needs citizens to extend...*') and they are 'functionalised'.²

Extract 20

325 And America needs citizens to extend the compassion of our country
326 to every part of the world. So we will renew the promise of the Peace
327 Corps, double its volunteers over the next five years -- (applause) --
328 and ask it to join a new effort to encourage development and

² However the implicit purpose here relates service and volunteers to the goals of Bush's 'pre-emptive war' (with Iraq), which is said to be the main agenda of the 2002 State of the Union Speech (Entman, 2003).

329 education and opportunity in the Islamic world. (Applause.)

Bush advocates the obligation of the people to propagate so-called American values (*'our country's compassion'* line 325) to the rest of the world. But more specifically, by also including *'the Islamic world'* (lines 325-329) as those in need of America's help, he justifies not only the purpose of enlisting volunteers for Peace Corps, but also his War On Terror.

In summary, Bush's representations of 'volunteers' also include terms such as *'citizens'* and *'Americans'* used in a similar way as in the 2001 Inaugural address. Volunteerism is defined as the obligation of citizens and draws upon themes of American values and defines Americans as exceptional people. This is a means for the construction of American identity, which entails the 'discourse of nationalism'. However, in this speech, volunteers are situated as part of the exigencies of September 11, therefore they are 're-presented' (Sarangi, 1998) as part of the goals of the USA Freedom Corps, an initiative said to have been launched due to the need in the wake of the attacks. In this way, volunteers are positioned in this speech as an outcome of September 11 (The exigency of the attacks and the involvement of the people in voluntary service were discussed in Chapters 1 and 4). For this purpose, his representations are embedded within the 'discourse of war'.

6.4.2 Representation of the People in Need as the 'Other'

In this section, I consider the actor I call 'the recipients of service' – those who are in need of the service provided by volunteers. In general, there is more

emphasis on the goals of Bush's War On Terror and September 11. Through 'additions' they are also 're-presented' as part of the *goals* of the USA Freedom Corps. In lines 311-312 where he asks Americans to commit some hours to service, Bush divides the service recipients ('*neighbors*' and '*nation*') into two different categories/classifications.

In lines 325-329 (Extract 20), the recipients of service are constructed as part of a broader scope, namely, the '*every part of the world*' (line 326). This is formulated as the goals for the Peace Corps stated as: '*to extend the compassion of our country to every part of the world*' (which was the original goal of the Peace Corps when established by President John F Kennedy). In this new context, the goals have been reformulated as follows: '*to join a new effort to encourage development and education and opportunity in the Islamic world*' in lines 328-329, a version that is more in line with the goals for Bush's War On Terror.

The service recipients are referred to as those who reside in Muslim countries, thus they are 'collectivised' (Van Leeuwen, 1996). But they are 'impersonalised' as '*the Islamic world*', using the collective noun '*world*' and not attributing human features to them. This is a form of 'objectivation' (Van Leeuwen, 1996) used by Bush to define them more as a thing or goal. In this occasion, they are defined as a group of countries or regions that belong together, which entails 'spatialisation'. However, this form of spatialisation is not based on geography or location but on the common religious practices ('*Islamic*') of its people.

By defining them as '*the Islamic world*', Bush also implies that there exists another world, a non-Islamic world of which he and the service providers (Americans) are a part of, a strategy that 'Others' them through an 'us' and 'them' categorisation. His 'us' evokes the notion of collective identity and the discourse of nationalism, while his 'them' 'Others' the Muslim world and implicitly invokes his intent for war. Schlesinger (1991: 301) states that national identity is a specific form of collective identity that is simultaneously "one of inclusion that provides a boundary around 'us' and one of exclusion that distinguishes 'us' from 'them'".

The 'impersonalisation' (Van Leeuwen, 1996) in this case has two effects. It backgrounds all other aspects of the service recipients by referring to them in an overall term as '*Islamic*'; while foregrounding the service providers and lending them impersonal authority. Stating the goals as '*a new effort to encourage development and education and opportunity in the Islamic world*' (lines 328-329, Extract 20), Bush implies that Muslim countries around the world are underdeveloped, and therefore lacking in facilities in the areas of education and opportunities. In comparison, through a formulation of America as the global service provider ('*extend the compassion of our country to every part of the world*' lines 325-326), he portrays 'us' as the better and developed country of opportunities. This draws upon the American exceptionalist ideology which is a specific strategy in Bush's construction of American identity.

This strategy thereby legitimates the goals of the USA Freedom Corps and volunteerism. Incidentally it also legitimates his goals for war, that of 'helping'

Muslim countries such as Afghanistan and Iraq. He mentions this in lines 7-12 (Extract 21) at the start of the speech. America is implied as the 'saviour' in liberating Afghanistan's '*people from starvation and freed a country from brutal oppression*'.

Extract 21

7 We last met in an hour of shock and suffering. In four short months,
8 our nation has comforted the victims, begun to rebuild New York
10 destroyed Afghanistan's terrorist
11 training camps, saved a people from starvation, and freed a country
12 from brutal oppression. (Applause).

This is an implicit reference to his War On Terror. It is prevalent throughout the speech and is linked to VCS.³ This point is discussed further in the next section.

6.4.3 Representing VCS as Part of War and Nationalism

In this section, I consider how the discourses of war and nationalism act as the main legitimating discourses of the activity of performing service. Bush uses 'substitutions' whereby some other terms have been used to represent the activity of performing service. But he generalises volunteerism as a form of abstraction by ascribing it with the qualities distilled from the action or reactions of the volunteers on Ground Zero. 'Distillation' thus is the main form of representation of volunteerism in this speech, unlike in the Inaugural Address where 'substitution' was the dominant mode to situate VCS as a moralised and moralising social practice.

³ Bush uses volunteerism to legitimate his agenda for war. But the same time, using a discourse of war, he also legitimates VCS in the aftermath of the attacks.

The qualities distilled are those that describe the efforts of volunteers in the aftermath of September 11. But these qualities are distilled in order to legitimate volunteerism through a broader concept that captures the national climate in the aftermath.

According to Van Leeuwen (1995: 98-100), 'distillations' help realise goals through the qualities that are highlighted, and the qualities help in legitimations through evaluative associations. As the same qualities can be distilled from many different practices, distillation enables practices to be compared and classified based on those qualities that have been highlighted. Besides, this can also lead to the demarcation of fields of social practices based on the same kinds of values and purposes that they share. Importantly, however, such fields are served by the institutions whose (theoretical) practices of distillation elaborate these purposes and values. These qualities and values eventually supply the legitimations and purposes that support these practices. In general, Bush represents volunteering as 'a new culture' and 'the resolve to fight evil'.

- **The New Culture of Responsibility**

In lines 298-305 (Extract 22), Bush uses the noun '*culture*' to represent volunteerism in the aftermath ('*we have glimpsed what a new culture of responsibility could look like*').

Extract 22

298 For too long our culture has said, "If it feels good, do it." Now

299 America is embracing a new ethic and a new creed: "Let's roll."
300 (Applause.)...
301 ...we
302 have glimpsed what a new culture of responsibility could look like.

Referring to volunteers on Ground Zero such as '*firefighters*' and '*soldiers*' (see discussion on representation of volunteers in earlier section), he constructs the overall meaning as the people's solidarity in the aftermath. This is a means for situating VCS as a commonsensical practice of 'the American way of life'. He pre-modifies this term with the adjective '*new*' to imply that it is some kind of a reform of 'the old culture' (before September 11). Thus, in the aftermath volunteerism is defined as '*a new culture of responsibility*', but this is said in reference to the activities on Ground Zero. Besides culture, Bush defines a new set of moral principles ('*a new ethic*') and belief system ('*new creed*') as the new culture that he declares '*America is embracing...*' (line 299).

By pre-modifying the nouns '*ethic*' and '*creed*' with the adjective '*new*', Bush defines a kind of reform. And with '*a new era of responsibility*', he also declares pre-September 11 practices of volunteerism as belonging to the 'old era'. In this way, Bush constructs and represents an episteme. According to Hyatt, the discursive derivations of epochs involve the practice of rule by consent which is explained by Fairclough (1989) as hegemonic practices of dominant groups that invoke commonsensical elements to naturalise such practices. Bush's representation is based on the view that service is an embodiment of the culture, traditions and values of the American people. Culture, says Hyatt, is a key element in the construction of temporal and historical perspectives (Hyatt, 2005: 521-523).

In lines 330-335 (see Extract 23), Bush refers to the aftermath as '*this time of adversity*' which implies difficulty or troubled times, and links it to his war on terrorism ('*during this time of war*').

Extract 23

330 This time of adversity offers a unique moment of opportunity – a
331 moment we must seize to change our culture. Through the gathering
332 momentum of millions of acts of service and decency and kindness, I
333 know we can overcome evil with greater good. (Applause.) And we
334 have a great opportunity during this time of war to lead the world
335 toward the values that will bring lasting peace.

In addition, through the use of such temporal signifiers, e.g., '*this time of adversity*', he describes the unity of the American people in order to elevate the nation's mood as a positive impact on the nation, i.e., '*a moment of opportunity*'. In this way, he defines the people's unity through volunteerism, as a positive outcome ('*a new culture of responsibility*') which the nation needs to embrace to reform their pre-September 11 practices ('*a moment we must seize to change our culture*').

- **The Greater 'Good' and the Resolve Against 'Evil'**

In his definition of the practice of volunteerism as '*a culture of responsibility*', Bush again ascribes it moral evaluations similar to that found in the Inaugural address ('*the gathering momentum of millions of acts of service and decency and kindness*' lines 331-332, Extract 23). Through repetition of the concepts '*evil*' and '*war*', volunteerism and service are defined as '*millions of acts of service and decency and kindness*' and the resolve to fight the '*evil*' '*during this time of war*'. The epigraph for this chapter is an extract from Bush's speech about Senior

Corps that was delivered two days after his State of the Union Address. It is another example of Bush's direct reference to service as '*acts of kindness*' and defined as '*the best way to fight evil*'.

Juxtaposing volunteerism as the 'greater good' and 'September 11' as 'evil' through his affirmation as national leader and 'Guardian' ('*I know we can overcome evil*' lines 331-332, Extract 23), is his strategy of uniting Americans to join the USA Freedom Corps. In addition, it is his means of uniting the people to support his War On Terror. By contrasting 'September 11' as '*evil*' and voluntary service as the '*greater good*' that '*can overcome evil*' '*during this time of war*' (lines 331-335), he calls for national unity through volunteerism. In this fashion, he legitimates volunteerism as the much needed resolve in the aftermath of September 11.⁴ His construction of VCS as the resolve to overcome the '*evil*' of September 11, calls for unification by defining volunteerism as '*the values that bring lasting peace*' (line 335). According to Kellner, such discourse that uses binary logic of 'evil' and 'good' leads to no ambiguity and is absolutistic in the meaning it conveys and "legitimizes any action undertaken in the name of good,... on the grounds that it is attacking evil" (2004: 47-18).

6.5 Representing September 11 as Authority

Throughout the speech Bush's use of binary logic of 'good' versus 'evil' is also used to represent September 11 in another way to legitimate VCS in the

⁴ By constructing VCS as the much needed reform in a time of war, and calling on the people to unite and support his policies, doubles as a strategy for legitimating his War On Terror. Thus, calling VCS the much needed resolve does not only relate to his national service agenda but also for war.

aftermath. In lines 303-305, as the precursor for his call for service message in lines 306-308 (Extract 1), he uses *passive agent deletion* (Van Leeuwen, 1995) to state: *'We've been offered a unique opportunity, and we must not let this moment pass'*. The people are told *'we've been offered a unique opportunity'* but not necessarily who has offered them the opportunity. In this speech, Bush represents September 11 in two ways, as an 'episode' and as 'the timing'.

As an 'episode' he describes the attacks via the constant reminder to the people of the collapsing towers, the restoration works on Ground Zero and through his framing of the event as 'acts of terror' or 'evil'. For example in lines 167-168, he refers to September 11 as an 'episode': *'Time and distance from the events of September the 11th will not make us safer unless we act on its lessons'*. As 'the timing', he constructs September 11 as being responsible for the episode in the aftermath, such as the patriotic/nationalist rise in the nation, which he has called *'a new era'* and *'a new culture of responsibility'* (lines 298-305). In this way he has also made his call for service and the launching of the USA Freedom Corps as the calling of September 11, or the 'timing'. For example in lines 145-147, he refers to September the 11th as the timing that has brought out the best in the people and the Congress: *'September the 11th brought out the best in America, and the best in this Congress. And I join the American people in applauding your unity and resolve'*.

In this sense, the 'timing' is given a name – it is nominalised as 'September 11th'. According to Van Leeuwen (2005a: 132), this is known as 'disembodied time summons' through which 'timing' becomes agentive and a source of authority.

‘Disembodied time summons’ is defined as “a kind of internalised sense of timing..., as a kind of inescapable fate, or as a form of timing ordained by time itself” (Van Leeuwen, 2005a: 132). My discussion in this chapter has shown that ‘personal authority legitimisation’ plays a key role in the legitimisation and implementation of the USA Freedom Corps through Bush’s role as leader and guardian to mobilise the people in VCS. However, his positioning of ‘*September 11th*’ as ‘timing’ defines it as the ‘actor’ that has authorised his call for service. In doing so, this helps to minimise Bush’s authoritative stance by giving agency and authority to September 11th instead. In this way, the civic resurgence in the aftermath is constructed as having been summoned by September 11. Bush’s representation of ‘*September the 11th*’ as the timing (‘the active doer’) responsible for the upsurge in volunteerism helps legitimate his action of launching the USA Freedom Corps.

The reference to the ‘*best in America*’ (line 145, see Appendix 2) is said in relation to the patriotic upsurge and civic revival that emerged in the aftermath of the attacks (‘*it was as if our entire country looked into the mirror and we saw our better selves. We were reminded that we are citizens, with obligations to each other, to our country and to history*’ lines 294-295). (This reflects the context for this speech that was discussed in Chapter 4.) All these are said to have been authorised by September 11th (‘*None of us would ever wish the evil that was done on September the 11th. Yet after America was attacked, it was as if...*’) – as the timing that had summoned the civic revival. Incidentally, the same rationale can also be applied to Bush’s War On Terror. This is known as ‘*Activation*’ (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 42-43)

and gives agency to September 11th. War was summoned by ‘September 11th’ (‘the timing’) but not by Bush, as can be seen from the following example.

September the 11th delivered a chilling message to our country, and that is oceans no longer protect us. And therefore, it is my obligation to make sure that we address gathering threats overseas before they could do harm to the American people. And that’s why – that’s why I elevated the issue of Iraq. (George W. Bush, December 3, 2002)

Bush’s representation that makes time agentive removes the possibility of other ‘active doer/s’ of the action. It makes the action to be more in the hands of fate, i.e., that the call for service was destined by September 11th (the timing), rather than Bush or his government. This measure blurs and even disembodies all other aspects, agents or actors. It implies that timing (as the main actor) is the agent that has called for the revival of civic engagement in the aftermath, which Bush has rightfully facilitated by providing the American people with an avenue to serve their country. In this way, he has made September 11th (the timing) the official actor that has called for the people’s involvement in VCS. This helps to legitimate his national campaign, the USA Freedom Corps, as a program that was launched due to the exigencies of the attacks, rather than as part of his pre-September 11 agenda for welfare reform (see Chapter 5).

6.6 Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter, I set out to investigate Bush’s call for service, implementation of the USA Freedom Corps and the mobilisation of the American people in voluntary service. My purpose was to undertake a comparative analysis to the 2001

Inaugural Address analysed in Chapter 5. I looked at how Bush recontextualises elements of the social practice of volunteerism, and how these representations inform the main discourses that he employs to legitimate VCS in the wake of the September 11 attacks. In general although there are similarities in his call for service message and representations, there are also striking differences in comparison to the Inaugural Address, due to the context in which this speech has been delivered. As the 2002 State of the Union Address was delivered four months after the September 11 attacks, the call for service agenda in this speech has been 're-presented' by situating it within the broader frames of September 11, the War On Terror and the nation's mood in the aftermath.

In this speech, Bush's representation of himself as sole authority is more overtly manifested through his 'Guardian of the People' frame which puts him above everyone in status and power – as their 'protector' and 'saviour'. He uses the two main themes of September 11 and the War On Terror, as well as the culturally significant theme, 'freedom', for the representations of his popular leadership role in a time of crisis. In establishing his position, he also positions others and in this way determines their social relations with him and each other.

While in the 2001 Inaugural Address, the people were situated as a civic community by means of their roles and duties as citizens with obligation to the country and their communities, in this speech they are represented more as members of a nation-state, through the shared values, beliefs and practices of a nation during a time of war. Therefore there is a more powerful message for solidarity, unity and

nationalism in this speech. This is mainly due to his representations that have been reformulated to encompass the broader goals of the USA Freedom Corps. He refers to the volunteers on Ground Zero as heroes and rescuers, and calls for these qualities to be embraced by the people in order to be model American citizens. War and unity, thus, are crucial features in his representations. And this is also apparent in his positioning of other actors.

Through the use of ‘us versus them’ categorisation, he represents another group of actors – the ‘terrorists’ as ‘evil’ and ‘enemies’ – for the purpose of constructing American identity and to define Americans as exceptional people to be looked up to by the rest of the world. As part of the goals of the USA Freedom Corps, people in need have also been re-presented to encompass a much larger group, ranging from other Americans in need to those in Muslim countries. Thus, not only are these groups part of his goals for the engagement of people in voluntary service to rebuild communities (as requested by him in the 2001 Inaugural Address), here they are part of his agenda for war, that of helping ‘oppressed Muslim nations’ and to represent so-called American values of liberty, democracy and freedom. In this way, war, nationalism and the unity of the people are the main features of his representations.

Bush’s call for the American people’s unity is done through his call for their engagement in VCS. But this also acts as a legitimating strategy for his War On Terror. Through such representations that foreground September 11 and war, Bush employs the two main discourses of war and nationalism to legitimate the social

practice of voluntary community service in this speech. Furthermore, the activity of performing service while in the 2001 speech was situated as a moralised and moralising social practice, in this speech it is defined as the much needed resolve of the nation in the aftermath of the attacks. Here VCS is represented in two ways. First, it is represented as the nation's 'fight against terrorism', with the people's unity through volunteerism portrayed as the strength of the nation that would defeat America's enemies/terrorists. VCS is defined as "a communal patriotic experience" that provides opportunities to "come together" and be "united" in a "coalition of war and humanitarianism" (Shapiro, 2002 in Altheide, 2004: 300-301). Second, VCS also came to be represented as a new culture of service and responsibility that the nation is embracing. Thus, Bush also constructs an epochal division that shapes and influences the changing practice of VCS in the post September 11 period. The pre-September 11 practices of the people in VCS is situated as the old culture, while the post September 11 period and the people's involvement in voluntary service under the auspices of the USA Freedom Corps is represented as the 'good' that emerged from the 'evil' – a new culture of service and responsibility.

A crucial feature of Bush's definition of VCS as a new era of service and culture is his situating of September 11 as the timing and the event that had summoned the people's engagement in service. He has strategically re-presented his call for service and the launching of the USA Freedom Corps as having been authorised by September 11. Thus, in this speech, by using the context in which the speech was delivered and drawing upon the nation's patriotic and nationalist upsurge, Bush has managed to compose his call for service as not just his

authoritative summons to the people (as in his 2001 speech), but as part of the exigencies of the attacks, thereby making it the calling of September 11 instead. This can be said to have been a main contributing factor for the successful mobilisation of the people in voluntary service, in comparison to his earlier call for service in the 2001 speech.

The call for service in the 2002 State of the Union Address is a conflation of his two agendas, compassionate conservatism and war. My analysis in Chapter 5 revealed his call for service that was part of compassionate conservatism and the Faith Based Initiative. In this chapter, my analysis has unveiled his reformulation of the earlier call for service which has been situated within the discourses of war and nationalism. The conflation of these agendas is apparent in the epigraph of this chapter, in which Bush uses lexical items that are associated with both war (e.g. 'evil', 'war') and compassion (e.g. 'acts of kindness', 'love your neighbour'). Thus, by re-presenting VCS from 'compassion' through a moral/religious discourse to the 'resolve for war' using the discourses of war and nationalism, Bush has cleverly submerged his original agenda of enlisting the American people, faith and charitable organisations in the provisions of social services into his new agenda of war.

As war is a culturally significant feature of American history and tradition (Ross, 2002; Ryan, 2004), Bush's situating VCS as a collective resolve of the American people draws upon the notion of 'civic solidarity' of the people (Skocpol, 2002) that is said to have been a common feature during past wars (Putnam, 2002). In this way he has strategically constructed VCS as a commonsensical practice of

American citizens, thereby once again, as in the earlier message in 2001, he has successfully naturalised the right-wing Christian ideology of his conservative philosophy.

The USA Freedom Corps has been acclaimed as the most successful national service initiative of an American president. In this chapter, I have illustrated how Bush's strategic construction of the nation's mood, the discourses of war and nationalism and 'September 11' as authority, have all contributed to the success of his mobilisation of the people in VCS in the aftermath. In this way, VCS has become a hegemonic practice of rule by consent that helps to naturalise the ideology of Bush's conservative government. His deliberate positioning of the people as subjects through different discourses is a crucial element in defining VCS as a hegemonic practice. My analyses have demonstrated that his call for service in both the 2001 and 2002 speeches positions the American people as 'subjects' through the roles he assigns them and the relations he determines between them through their engagement in VCS. In his 2001 speech, his main frame of reference for the people was 'citizens', a term that situates them as a 'civic community' by way of their roles, duties, obligations to the country and to their community and to themselves. In his 2002 address, his situating of the people as 'a nation-state' through a powerful nationalist discourse, positions them through their affiliation to the country, its constitution, values and the principles said to be American.

Constructing VCS in the post September 11 period as 'a new culture of service and responsibility' is his way of engineering social change. His call for

service in both speeches incorporates what Foucault calls ‘the rationalities of government’ which refer to the planning and structure of power through ‘technologies of government’, e.g., Bush’s national service campaign – the USA Freedom Corps – that makes the population its ‘object’ to manage and direct through its processes or instruments of rule. Taking on Foucault’s characterisation of the work of government as ‘the conduct of conduct’ (Gordon 1987: 296), I situate Bush’s national campaign as an instrument for governing citizens that aims to steer the target groups towards preferred social behaviours, attitudes, lifestyles, etc., thus making the social practice of voluntary community service in the post September 11 period under the patronage of the USA Freedom Corps, a practice for social regulation and control. ‘Programs of conduct’ is the focus of my analyses in the subsequent Chapters. In the next chapter, I look at two of Bush’s speeches, this time to investigate the ideology underpinning his program for welfare reform to fight poverty – the Faith Based Initiative.

And my budget adopts a hopeful approach to help the poor and the disadvantaged. We must encourage and support the work of charities and faith based and community groups that offer help and love one person at a time. (Applause.) These groups are working in every neighborhood in America to fight homelessness and addiction and domestic violence; to provide a hot meal or a mentor or a safe haven for our children. Government should welcome these groups to apply for funds, not discriminate against them. (George W. Bush, Remarks by the President in Commencement Address at the University of Notre Dame, May 20, 2001)

Chapter 7

Legitimizing Conservative Ideology for Welfare Reform through ‘Community’ and Voluntary Community Service

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I move away from Bush’s calls for service and focus on ‘compassionate conservatism’, his political philosophy that advocates a ‘new vision for fighting poverty in America’ (Bush, April 2002). The epigraph of this chapter summarises the main features of compassionate conservatism and the Faith Based Initiative. Bush’s plan for welfare reform involves enlisting charities and faith based organisations (FBOs) as partners to government in the provisions of social services. This agenda builds upon his ‘calls for service’ which supports the programs of the faith and charitable organisations, which in turn need volunteers for the successful implementation of their community service programs. His policy advocates the channelling of federal resources to support the work of these organisations instead of welfare services, which is the prime goal of compassionate conservatism. Thus the

focus of this chapter is on Bush's discourse of welfare reform. I investigate his constructions of collectivity, i.e., 'community' as collective action for welfare provisions, and his representations of the social actors and social action of VCS as well as the contingency concepts of poverty and welfare. The purpose is to locate the different discourses that his representations draw upon in order to legitimate the Faith Based Agenda as the best alternative to replace the Welfare State. In this way, I aim to unmask the ideology, i.e., the dominant view of the Bush government for its policies of welfare reform that underlies the practice of VCS linked to the Faith Based Agenda.

The analyses are divided into two parts. In the first part, in Section 7.2, I start with an investigation of Bush's speech to locate his use of 'we' for the construction of 'community'. Research on the use of 'we' by politicians suggests that there is a close link between 'we' and the concept of 'community' as it is said to be the only pronoun that can claim authority and communality at the same time (Maier, 1995; Íñigo-Mora, 2004; Pennycook, 1994; Wilson, 1990: also see discussion in Chapter 3). In Chapters 5 and 6, my analyses showed that Bush's representations of the American people drew upon collective identities to situate them as a homogenous and consensual group. The usage of 'we' in both speeches is a clear indication of his dependence on this pronoun for his construction of collective identities. In this chapter, my focus is on his use of 'we' to construct 'community' – defined here as the mutual obligations and responsibilities of people in fighting social issues.

The philosophy of compassionate conservatism uses the idea of engaging volunteers, charities, faith-based and community organisations. It draws upon the concept of 'community' or 'communalism' that places emphasis on collective existence and the partnership between government and the people to fight poverty and social issues. Rose's (1996) view of the concept of 'community' as part of neo-liberal governments' means of creating allegiances of responsibility between individuals and society through service projects for the administration of individuals and collective existence is central here. My investigation will unveil Bush's constructions of 'community' via his use of 'we' that enables him to shift the responsibility of social services to people (see discussion on 'governance through community' in Chapter 2).

In Section 7.3, which is the second part of the chapter, the analysis continues with the investigation of the ideology of compassionate conservatism to locate how Bush represents the two main groups of actors, namely, those receiving service (people in poverty), and those called on to provide their service (volunteers, volunteer agencies, etc.). I also examine how he constructs and represents the social reality of poverty and welfare. My purpose for looking at his representations is to uncover the main discourses that he evokes to legitimate his faith based agenda as the best option for welfare reform. These discourses will illustrate my key argument in this chapter that whilst on the surface Bush promotes a moderate sounding rhetoric of caring and compassion to promote communalism, i.e., through a communitarian discourse, underlying his faith based policy and political philosophy, however, is the right-wing Christian ideology that naturalises hierarchies, social

divisions and asymmetrical power relations. In addition, this dominant ideology is part of the long term pledge of conservatives to end the welfare state (see discussion on Olasky in Chapter 4).

As far as data is concerned, I look at two of Bush's speeches that were delivered to smaller audiences at private functions rather than the national audience of the Inaugural and State of the Union Addresses discussed in the previous chapters. In selecting these two speeches, I have tried to make the choice both comparable and representative, whereby both speeches represent a series of addresses delivered by Bush across America after his inauguration as president in 2000, in which he promoted his political agenda grounded in compassionate conservative principles.

Text A was addressed to an audience at a private club in San Jose, California on April 30, 2002 (see Bush Promotes Compassionate Conservatism, Appendix 3). His agenda in this speech represents the post September 11 policies, which can be seen as a conflation of the USA Freedom Corps and the Faith Based Agenda. While the main message focuses on his policy of engaging charitable and faith based organisations for the provision of social services as part of his welfare reform, there are 'intertextual' features (Fairclough, 1989) of his 2001 Inaugural and 2002 State of the Union Addresses that were discussed in the previous chapters. For example, when referring to people's engagement in service, he uses the moral discourse evident in his pre-September 11 speech, e.g., the term '*compassion*' is used to represent voluntary service (*'Often the truest kind of compassion is to help citizens*

build lives of their own' lines 143-144, see Appendix 3). Furthermore, he uses the discourse of war to discuss his agenda by referring to September 11 and the war on terror throughout the speech (e.g. '*We are in for a long and difficult war...*' line 77: '*We have entered the next phase of the war...*' lines 65-67; '*In our war on terror, we are showing the world the strength of our country...*' lines 285-288, see Appendix 3).

Text B is an address that was delivered at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, on 20 May 2001. As a pre-September 11 message, it is reminiscent of his 2001 Inaugural Address. Here the discourse of moral and religious values takes precedence (e.g., '*And we are committed to compassion for moral reasons. Jewish Prophet and Catholic teaching both speak of God's special concern for the poor...That value is a reflection of God's image*' lines 91-95, Appendix 4). I would like to highlight that in this chapter I do not undertake a comparative analysis of the two speeches. My purpose is to show that while there had been a discursive shift in his advocacy of a move away from the welfare reform towards the national service program, i.e., his call for service and representations of VCS from the 2001 Inaugural Address to the 2002 State of the Union Address (discussed in the previous chapters), in terms of his policy, however, there has been very little change as it is the same policy (the Faith Based Initiative) from before September 11 that he promoted in 2002, in the post September 11 period. Therefore, my focus in this chapter is on the combined messages of both speeches that will help uncover the ideology of compassionate conservatism – here described as the partisan view of the Bush administration with regard to welfare reform.

7.2 Bush's New Approach to Fight Poverty via 'Community'

Bush's measure to enlist charities, community and faith based groups calls upon a collective response to fight poverty. He thus focuses on the idea of 'community'. In this section, I explore his use of the personal pronoun 'we' in one of his speeches to suggest how he positions the different actors that he refers to and what this entails with regard to his policy. My investigation centres on Bush's strategic usage of 'we' in his call for the collective action of people to fight poverty (see discussion of 'we' in Chapter 3).

For the analysis, I refer to Text A (see Appendix 3: Bush Promotes Compassionate Conservatism) and focus in particular on Bush's reference to the role of government and other actors to fight poverty and welfare reform which appear between lines 127 and 276. The main message in the speech is of Bush advocating his policy – the Faith Based Initiative – and this will become evident in the analysis and discussion. The purpose of the analysis is to investigate his strategic use of 'we' for collectivity and solidarity in order to gain people's support for his policy – the Faith Based Agenda. For my analysis, I look for all the forms of 'we' between lines 127 and 276 to categorise them according to the scope of reference of the pronoun, that is whether it is inclusive, exclusive or has some level of ambiguity. Although there is reference to other collective referents (e.g. 'America', 'citizens') it is his use of 'we' that is most striking in constructing 'community' within the scope of welfare reform. In the analysis I use the symbols (+) for the actors who are included and (–) for those excluded.

Looking at his overall use of 'we' between lines 127-276, we notice both types of 'we', whereby the inclusive 'we' is slightly higher than the ambiguous 'we': out of 40 instances, 57.5% are the inclusive 'we', while the rest (42.5%) are ambiguous and could be interpreted as either inclusive or exclusive. In what follows, I will illustrate Bush's usage of the inclusive 'we' and the ambiguous 'we' and then move on to summarise the main findings of his usage to suggest what they signify with regard to his construction of 'community' for welfare reform.

In Extract 1 (lines 133-140), there are five instances of the inclusive 'we' (Bush (+) The American People). Here Bush's main message is his distinction between the different approaches of past governments, e.g., 'big government' (one that spends a lot of money), 'indifferent government' (one that is not close to the people), and what his government's approach is (focused, close to the people, by way of his faith based agenda). Thus his main purpose here is to set his agenda (the Faith Based Initiative) and gain the support of the American people.

Extract 1: Text A

133 Yet we cannot have an indifferent government either. We are a
134 generous and caring people. We don't believe in a sink-or-swim
135 society. The policies of our government must heed the universal call
136 of all faiths to love a neighbor as we would want to be loved
137 ourselves. We need a different approach than either big government
138 or indifferent government. We need a government that is focused,
139 effective, and close to the people; a government that does a few
140 things, and does them well. (Applause.)

In this extract, Bush's association with the American people is clearly indicated through the inclusive, collective 'we' in line 133, 'Yet *we cannot have an*

indifferent...; and his reference to the nation collectively which also includes himself, '*We are a generous and caring people*' (line 134). Government is modified with another collective referent '*our*' (line 135), and his use of '*ourselves*' ('*The policies of our government... as we would want to be loved ourselves*' lines 135-137) also indicates his role as their leader – as one who speaks on their behalf. All five instances of 'we' in this extract indicate inclusiveness as the focus of the message is to call for unity ('*we need a different approach*' line 137) and people's support for his program of Faith Based Initiative ('*...policies of our government must heed the universal call of all faiths...*' lines 135-136).

In Extract 2, there are five more uses of the inclusive 'we', in a similar way to those in the previous extract. The message is once again for solidarity and support for his programs and agenda, and this is evident as he quotes his earlier speech (the 2001 Inaugural Address) and his message asking the American people to be citizens (this was discussed in Chapter 5), which is a precondition for the success of his Faith Based Initiative.

Extract 2: Text A

268 By being involved and by taking responsibility upon ourselves, we
269 gain something else, as well: We contribute to the life of our country.
270 We become more than taxpayers and occasional voters, we become
271 citizens. Citizens, not spectators. Citizens who hear the call of duty,
272 who stand up for their beliefs, who care for their families, who
273 control their lives, and who treat their neighbors with respect and
274 compassion. We discover a satisfaction that is only found in service,
275 and we show our gratitude to America and to those who came before
276 us.

The inclusive ‘we’ enables Bush to position himself as their leader and the American people as ‘citizens’ and ‘subjects’. Therefore there are elements of communality and authority present here, similar to the views of Pennycook (1994; cf. Iñigo-Mora, 2004). The term ‘citizens’ is part of his collective reference used together with other terms such as ‘*ourselves*’ (line 268), ‘*our*’ (line 275) and ‘*us*’ (line 276), which bind him to the people while also enabling him to speak on their behalf as their representative and leader. Thus, Bush’s use of the inclusive ‘we’ is relationally significant as it represents Bush, his audience and every one else as a ‘community’. In this sense, the inclusive ‘we’ assimilates the leader ‘to the people’ (Fairclough, 1989: 179).

In the following examples we can find ‘we’ as inclusive or exclusive, thus leading to ambiguities in the meanings conveyed. In Extract 3, Bush discusses the role of his government, and primes the audience for his Faith Based agenda.

Extract 3: Text A

127 Every American must believe in the promise of America. And to
128 reach this noble, necessary goal, there is a role for government.
129 America doesn’t need big government, and we’ve learned that
130 more money is not always the answer. If a program is failing to serve
131 the people, it makes little difference if we spend twice as much or
132 half as much. The measure of true compassion is results.

The first ‘we’ in line 129, when Bush says, ‘*we’ve learned that more money is not always the answer*’, follows on from his delineation of the role of his government in line 128 (‘*...there is a role for government*’). Here the ‘we’ is exclusive as it refers to the budget and the government’s role. But it takes on an

inclusive meaning because it comes after his use of the collective referent '*America*' in the same line to refer to the country and its people. This refers to a kind of patriotic meaning that embraces all American people, which also includes him as belonging to the group: therefore it is Bush (+) People. As part of the American people, he thus speaks on their behalf as their representative to outline what he considers to be the best option for the people and the country, which in this case is his decision to cut down on the spending on government programs ('*America does not need big government*' line 129; '*...it makes little difference if we spend twice as much or half as much*' lines 131-132).

The second 'we' in line 131 becomes 'ambiguous' because he refers to the program of government, but his reference to '*America*' could infer Bush (+) the people, or Bush (+) the government and (-) the people. So, when he says, '*If a program is failing to serve the people*', his use of '*the people*' rather than an inclusive 'us' is a clear indication of his distancing from the addressee, but speaks through authority and status as the people's president, and on behalf of his government to state his budget plans – '*if we spend twice as much*'. Thus the 'we' in line 131 is an exclusive 'we' of Bush (+) government, but (-) people, but placing it together within the same paragraph with the inclusive 'we' and the collective referent '*America*', makes the meanings it conveys rather ambiguous. In this way it could be either inclusive or exclusive.

There is a reason for this ambiguity. As Fairclough (1989: 180) sees it, this ambivalence "allows what the government was, believed and did to put across as

what the 'people' was, believed, did. Although the relational value is again to represent everyone as being in the same boat, the direction of assimilation is reversed, whereby it assimilates the 'people' to the leader". In this sense, Bush's use of 'we', in Extract 3, is his strategic means to construct the American people's allegiance to him as their leader. This provides him with the authority and distance he needs to outline his plans and agenda, but it also enables him to position himself as belonging with them in order to make his program seem like it is also what the people want or believe in.

There are also other instances of the ambiguous usage of 'we', for example in Extract 4 (lines 141-148). The main message in this extract is once again to define the role of government, but here the role is not stated in terms of what it is (*'focused'*, *'close to the people'* lines 137-138, Extract 1) or is not (*'big government'*, *'indifferent government'* lines 138-139, Extract 1) as in the previous examples, but in terms of what it can do (*'can encourage people and communities' to help themselves and to help one another'* lines 141-142) or cannot do (*'it cannot solve every problem'* line 141). In this way, he states the role of the government through its limitations. This enables Bush to shift the responsibilities of the government for social services to people and faith/charitable organisations.

Extract 4: Text A

141 Government cannot solve every problem, but it can encourage people
142 and communities to help themselves and to help one another. Often
143 the truest kind of compassion is to help citizens build lives of their
144 own. I call my philosophy and approach "compassionate
145 conservatism." It is compassionate to actively help our fellow citizens

146 in need. It is conservative to insist on responsibility and on results.
147 And with this hopeful approach, we can make a real difference in
148 people's lives. (Applause.)

The ambiguity of the use of 'we' is even more complex in this extract due to his use of other referents, such as the authoritative 'I', and singular pronoun 'it'. Here Bush refers to 'Government' and uses 'it' to refer to government in the same line (*'Government cannot solve ...but it can encourage people and communities...'*, lines 141-142). His use of '*government*' implies that he is speaking on behalf of his government, but considering Pennycook's (1994) views, Bush's use of 'it' here aims to establish objectivity by generalising his agenda in order to conceal the fact that he is behind the agenda (Faith Based Initiative) being promoted in this extract. Wilson (1990: 52) contends that "politicians can never be certain that decisions they have made will always necessarily be seen in a positive light (or they may be aware that their positive claims could easily be re-interpreted in a more negative manner)". Thus for Bush, it is best to spread the load of responsibility to the government rather than shoulder it as individual responsibility. This is a strategic positioning by Bush in Extract 4. For the addressees/hearers, the message could simply imply that it is the government that is promoting the agenda and calling for the people to take responsibility for themselves (*'...but it can encourage people and communities to help themselves and to help one another'* lines 141-142).

But the complexity increases as Bush reverts to the pronoun 'I' and 'my' to promote compassionate conservatism (lines 144-145, Extract 4). The usage of 'I' and 'my' are part of an authoritative rhetoric and stems from a person's position of status and power (Teten, 2007: 675). I would also add that Bush's use of 'I' with

‘we’ follows his pattern of positioning himself with regard to some issues and not others (which is also evident in the next extract). Wilson (1990: 50) explains that the distribution of I/we (as inclusive and exclusive) is being clearly marked out in political interaction for the following reasons:

One of the major aims of a politician is to gain the people’s allegiance, to have them believe that the decisions that are being made are the right ones. At the same time no one can guarantee the outcome of any political decision, and since any politician’s position is dependent on the support of the people, it is also useful to have the audience believe, in some circumstances, that any actions are perhaps not only, or fully, the responsibility of one individual. First-person pronominal forms can assist the politician in achieving these almost contradictory aims.

Bush’s use of ‘I’ to promote compassionate conservatism indicates that this is something that he is personally responsible for. But he shifts to the collective referent ‘our’ (*‘our fellow citizens’*, line 145) and ‘we’ (*‘we can make a real difference...’* lines 147-148) to indicate Bush (+) the people and perhaps (+) government when it comes to the implementation of the program. Therefore within this context, ‘we’ is implied as inclusive, although in light of context-sensitivity, it should be interpreted as exclusive.

In Extract 5 (lines 207-211), there are two instances of ‘we’ that can be either inclusive or exclusive. The main message here is Bush’s Faith Based Initiative and how he plans to channel federal funds to this program. He positions charitable and faith based organisations as partners to government, but through the ambivalent use of ‘we’, he strategically aligns himself with the American people rather than with the government.

Extract 5: Text A

207 Our government should view the good Americans that work in faith-
208 based charities as partners, not rivals. (Applause.) We must provide
209 new incentives for charitable giving and, when it comes to providing
210 federal resources to effective programs, we should not discriminate
211 against private and religious groups. (Applause.)

In line 207, he starts with the collective referent 'our' to pre-modify his reference to the government. In this way, he aligns himself with the American people as Bush (+) people but (-) government. Although his reference is to the spending of federal resources (*'We must provide new incentives... when it comes to providing federal resources, we...'* lines 208-210) which the people are not part of, the collective referent 'our' at the start of this extract (*'Our government...'* line 209) makes it seem as if this is an inclusive 'we'. In this way, he draws upon a communal 'we' which enables him to speak on behalf of the people, despite the fact that the Faith Based Initiative and the funding of these programs are part of his agenda. Thus once again, he assimilates the people to the leader (Fairclough, 2000) to make it seem as if it is the people's program that he is promoting.

Another crucial example of the ambiguous 'we' is found in Extract 6 (lines 212-217). Here the Faith Based Initiative takes centre stage, as Bush explicitly states his plans to enlist faith and charitable organisations to fight poverty, and the only 'thing' that is holding him back is the Senate. This is because his implementation of this program is dependent on the Senate's approval. Once again 'we' appears with other referents such as the authoritative 'I'.

Extract 6: Text A

212 I urge the Senate to pass the faith-based initiative for the good of
213 America. It is compassionate to aggressively fight poverty in
214 America. It is conservative to encourage work and community spirit
215 and responsibility and the values that often come from faith. And
216 with this approach, we can change lives one soul at a time, and make
217 a real difference in the lives of our citizens.

In lines 212 -217, Bush starts with the authoritative 'I' which aims to emphasise his own personal intentions ('*I urge the Senate to pass the faith-based initiative for the good of America.*'), but as he also uses the collective referent '*America*' in the same line, the responsibility is spread to the government and the people. When he says '*with this approach, we can change lives ...*', this is an inclusive 'we' of Bush (+) government (+) people but (+/-) Senate. This incurs a sense of solidarity between him, his government and his people, while the Senate/Congress may or may not be a part of this communal boundary. This is evident in '*our citizens*' (line 217), which also implies a sense of communal belonging and togetherness. Therefore he puts himself above the government and the people as their leader, to speak on their behalf. The Congress, on the other hand, which is the authority when it comes to policy implementation and legislation, is a separate entity from the inclusive community of Bush (+) the people. This not only enables him to speak on behalf of the people and the government, but also to situate his agenda as the people's program, thus implying that it is their choice as much as his.

In summary, there are certain patterns in Bush's usage of 'we' in the above extracts and in others between lines 127 and 276 which evoke elements of a "double

assumption of authority and communality” (Pennycook, 1994: 176). His usage of ‘we’ is mostly inclusive (Bush + People) to encourage solidarity, while indicating his authoritative stance as their leader to speak on their behalf and as one of the people. For example, in Extract 1, ‘we’ is used in the inclusive sense to establish a sense of communality by actively promoting his ideology of compassionate conservatism through the notion that we all belong together in a cohesive community to reach the same goals. There are instances of this communal sense when ‘we’ refers to Bush (+) people with regard to what we are as a nation, drawing upon the principles of American idealism, e.g., ‘*we are a generous and caring people*’ (line 134). It is also used when representing the government as the people’s government (‘*our government*’ line 134), and when seeking support from the people for his ‘new’ measure in welfare reform (‘*we need a different approach...*’ line 137; ‘*we need a government...*’ line 138). ‘We’ is also inclusive when representing his program as the people’s program (‘*the policies of our government must heed the universal call of all faiths...*’ line 135).

But communality and authority are also constructed through use of ‘we’ in the ambiguous sense. Bush’s use of ‘we’ can be interpreted as either inclusive or exclusive when he uses it in combination with other collective referents such as ‘our’ and ‘America’ that imply a generic, inclusive reference. At the same time he also uses the authoritative pronouns ‘I’ and ‘my’ that represent power and status. When situated together with the ‘we’ the authoritative pronouns distance him from the addressee, but enable him to position himself as their leader. Thus, his strategic use of ‘we’ as either exclusive or inclusive enables him to manipulate the meanings

it conveys. Using 'we' in such ambiguous terms is done through limitations and exceptions to suit his goals and policies.

For example, 'we' is ambiguous when certain boundaries are created in which Bush aligns himself with the American people but distances himself from other groups, e.g. the Senate/Congress or the government; and also when demarcating between those who will be involved in his welfare reform ('*the good Americans that work in faith-based initiative...*' lines 207-208, see Extract 5) and those on the receiving end of the service ('*citizens in need*' lines 145-146, see Extract 4). While on the surface his policies claim to advocate solidarity and social cohesion, these elements of 'othering' via phrases such as '*citizens in need*' as a separate group of people from the included majority is a clear indication of social exclusion (a point discussed in Section 7.3.2).

'We' is ambiguous to indicate power and authority, thereby establishing distance between Bush and the American people. It is used when the focus is on telling the people about the plans and policies of the government as the proposed solutions for fighting poverty and reforming welfare. Fairclough (2000: 13) states that telling people the solution is not just about informing them, it is also a matter of promoting the solutions. In this sense, the 'we' is used in an ambiguous way, when there is reference to the shift of the role of the government in the delivery of social services to the people and the faith and charitable organisations. For example, in lines 141-148 (see Extract 4 and analysis), while Bush starts by establishing the role of his government thereby distancing himself from the people ('*Government cannot*

solve every problem'), he ends with a 'we' that should be exclusive but is presented as an inclusive 'we' through its combined use with the collective referent 'our' (*'help our fellow citizens in need'*). This is also the case in lines 216-217: while the message is about the approach of government which should be an exclusive 'we' of Bush (+) government, (-) people, he uses the phrase *'our citizens'* (*'we can change lives ...make a difference in the lives of our citizens'*), thereby implying communality.

Bush's use of 'we' in such ambiguous terms leads to a kind of blurring between 'we' as government and 'we' referring collectively to the people. According to Fairclough, this level of ambiguity in its usage is politically advantageous for a government which wants to represent itself as speaking for the whole nation (2000: 35-36). In Bush's usage there are clear indications of both collectivity and authority through the generic use of the inclusive 'we'. Furthermore, the ambiguities in his usage of 'we' act as a major tool of persuasion in the promotion of his agenda. As a conclusion, I would add that in general Bush's use of 'we' in this speech may be said to indicate his solidarity within a particular 'ideological paradigm' (Maitland and Wilson 1987: 495), namely, his political ideology – compassionate conservatism. The epigraph to this chapter clearly outlines Bush's ideology and the elements of communalism that underlie it. In the next section, my analysis looks at his representations of VCS in order to reveal what this ideology entails.

7.3 Constructing and Reinforcing Conservative Ideology through the Discourse of Social Exclusion

In this section, I look at Bush's representation of two categories of actor, namely, '*people*' (the service providers/volunteers) and '*citizens in need*' (the recipients of service). These groups of actor were also discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 as part of the actors in Bush's call for service. However, the analysis in this chapter differs in that it looks at his positioning of these groups of actor within a discourse of welfare reform. I also explore his representations of the social reality of poverty and welfare. In this way, I aim to uncover the main discourses that are employed in the rhetoric of compassionate conservatism for legitimating the Faith Based Initiative. The analyses focus on both texts A and B and draws mainly upon Van Leeuwen's (1995) categorisation of actors.

In general the two dominant discourses that are evoked by Bush are, the discourse of social exclusion (Fairclough, 2000) and one of its derivatives, the moral underclass discourse (Levitas, 1998). In the following subsections, I will first review what scholars say about these discourses in relation to welfare reform and then turn to my analysis of Bush's speeches to demonstrate how these discourses are evident in his representations of the social actors and the social reality of poverty and welfare. The main purpose of the analysis is to show that while on the surface Bush promotes communalism as collective existence through the concept of 'community' by focusing on the American people as a caring society who come together to help those in poverty (see discussion in previous section), his representations of the

service providers and recipients ascribe to inequalities and social hierarchies that naturalise power relations, social hierarchies and demoralises people in poverty.

7.3.1 Poverty and the Discourse of Social Exclusion

Poverty and the dependence that goes with it, says Edelman (1977: 5-8), is ever present throughout history and in every part of the world. There are two main patterns or cognitive structures that describe poverty. Pattern 1 describes the poor as being responsible for their own plight and in need of control. They are described as needing some form of rehabilitation for their “inadequacies, greed, lack of discipline, immorality, pathology and criminal tendencies” (p.6). This view advocates and justifies regulation of the poor, “while leaving it unclear in what sense government and professional interventions are social control and in what sense they are ‘rehabilitation’” (p.6). Pattern 2 sees the poor as victims of exploitative economic, social and political organisations. It focuses not on the personal inadequacies of the individuals but rather on the system. But this pattern dictates that if they are left to these circumstances they could become dangerous and immoral, therefore also requiring the authorities and professionals to step in. Liberal and leftist ideologies are said to lean towards this view (Edelman, 1977: 5-8). Edelman adds that:

[T]o believe that the poor are responsible for their poverty is to exonerate economic and political institutions from that responsibility and to legitimize the efforts of authorities to change the poor person’s attitudes and behavior. This cognitive structure justifies status, power and roles of the middle class, public officials, and the helping professionals, and provides an acceptable

reason to maintain inequalities, though it does so ambivalently. (Edelman, 1977: 8)

One main concept (and discourse) that is used when describing poverty is 'social exclusion'. Davies (2005: 4-5) states that social exclusion is a term that refers to 'exclu' or an 'outcast'. This term was originally used during the 1970s to refer to a group of people that ranged from the physically and mentally disabled to "socially maladjusted" people whose conditions produced mental illness, suicide, drug/alcohol abuse and 'anti-social behaviour'" (Pierce 1999, cited in Davies, 2005: 4). But the main characteristics of the poor was not that they were in poverty but that they were socially excluded whereby they were not involved in mainstream activities of the rest of society such as participation in politics. And this was said to be the reason for their state of poverty (Davies, 2005: 4).

As Oppenheim (1998: 15) sees it, social exclusion is a relational term and is more about social processes that lead to "loss of status, power, self esteem and expectations". The real causes of social exclusion, say Howarth and Kenway (1998: 80), can be traced to "exclusions from systems that facilitate social integration". In this sense, social exclusion is described as resulting from sections of the population that have less access to work or the labour market who in turn contribute less to the economy of the society. Thus, social exclusion here refers to 'more than poverty' and is linked to the idea of what is considered to be 'normal life' (Geddes, 1997: 5-6). Social inclusion is claimed as the measure to 'normalise' the lives of those who have been excluded. Social exclusion therefore is "culturally defined, economically driven and politically motivated" (Barry, 1998: 9).

There are also other definitions for social exclusion. According to Atkinson (1998: 7-8), there are three features of social exclusion, and these include 'relativity', 'agency', and 'dynamics'. 'Relativity' concerns the view that "social exclusion often manifests itself in terms of communities rather than groups". People become excluded because of events elsewhere in the society; therefore exclusion involves looking at not just the circumstances of individuals but more collectively at their relationship to others. Secondly, social exclusion "implies an act, with an agent or agents" – it involves two parties, those excluded and those doing the excluding. Finally, exclusion is also dynamic as people are excluded not just because they are currently out of a job or income, but because they have little in the way of prospects for the future (Atkinson, 1998).

Kleinman (2000) argues that despite such explanations, current understanding of the concept of social exclusion is quite ambiguous. It is used interchangeably with the concept 'underclass', therefore it now refers to any kind of social ill. He also refers to Levitas' (1998) view that the notion of social exclusion implies the existence of a majority population who is *included*, which creates a clear demarcation of social hierarchy between a comfortable majority and an excluded minority. This distinction is one way "to minimize differences and conflict of interest in the majority population" as "it avoids the difficulties associated with addressing inequalities and power relations in the wider society" (Kleinman, 2000: 55).

The concept of social exclusion also informs other discourses that are commonly used by politicians especially with regard to their policies on public services/welfare reform. According to Fairclough (2000), 'social exclusion' has become a key terminology in the discourse of modern governments to replace the term 'poverty'. Here he refers to Levitas' (2004: 44) views that there are three different discourses associated with social exclusion: the redistributionist discourse (RED), the social integrationist discourse (SID) and the moral underclass discourse (MUD). RED sees social exclusion and poverty to be inextricably interconnected, whereby poverty is seen as part of the pattern of social inequality. This discourse calls for a redistribution of resources, both in terms of cash and public services. It therefore focuses on poverty with attempts to reduce poverty by distributing wealth.

SID on the other hand, considers social integration as its key feature to reduce poverty. Social integration is seen as inclusion and this involves getting people in poverty into paid employment. Thus, SID situates unemployment as the main cause of poverty and exclusion and its means for inclusion is to get people into paid work. MUD focuses on the term 'underclass' and draws upon accounts of the mob and dangerous classes. It does not address overall inequalities and constructs the socially excluded as morally different from the included majority. It mainly targets potentially criminal young men and single mothers. MUD also positions welfare as a moral hazard that encourages dependency rather than as benefits that does social good and prevents destitution. This discourse focuses on the moral behaviour of the poor and pinpoints to the deficiencies in the culture of the poor (the excluded) which entails reform as changing their culture for social inclusion (see

also Levitas, 1998). Thus in general the three discourses embed different implicit meanings of social exclusion. Levitas (2004: 45) summarises that in RED, the poor and excluded lack material resources, in SID they lack paid work, in MUD they lack values and morality ascribed to the rest of the society.

According to Fairclough (2000: 54) social exclusion can also have ambiguous meanings. It can “foreground either a process (some people being excluded by other people, or by for instance the restructuring of industries), or an outcome (the state of being excluded)”. Therefore when poverty is defined as a condition and an outcome of social exclusion, it allows for the omission of the subjects and objects which tell us who the agent is, or who the affected might be. In his study of Tony Blair’s New Labour Language, Fairclough (2000: 51-60) found that Blair’s ‘one-nation’ politics to strengthen communities aimed for an inclusive society through social cohesion. Thus, reducing social exclusion was a key element of his policy and required the joint partnership between various bodies including government, different government agencies, local government and voluntary agencies. The concept of social exclusion was constructed as ‘more than poverty’ – as more than poverty and unemployment. It was about being cut off from the rest of society.

Blair used the concept of social exclusion as ‘multiple deprivation’ and this included elements of problems such as rising poverty, unemployment ...and crime’ (Fairclough, 2000: 53). In this way, Blair defined social exclusion as a condition rather than a process. This allowed him to draw upon two main discourses for his

discourse of social exclusion. He used a combination of the social integrationist discourse (SUD) that focuses on shifting people from welfare to work, with the moral underclass discourse (MUD) that focused on the moral deficiency in the culture of the poor. By drawing upon these two discourses, New Labour managed to define 'work' as the means of bringing back a 'sense of order' in people's lives, while at the same time, in an implicit manner, it also attributed some blame on the deficiencies of values and culture among the unemployed (Fairclough, 2000: 57-58).

7.3.2 Constructing and Representing 'People in Poverty' versus 'Service Providers'

In the previous section, I reviewed the relevant literature on representations of poverty and the discourse of social exclusion. I now turn to my analysis of Bush's speech to illustrate how he constructs poverty and uses this discourse. In this section, I look at two groups of actors that Bush draws upon with regard to his measure for welfare reform: (1) those defined as in need of help and (2) those called on to work with the charitable and faith based organisations. The analysis focuses on Text B whereby I look at the whole speech in its full length of 245 lines (see Appendix 4). In this speech, Bush speaks to the audience at the University of Notre Dame to inform them of his faith based agenda. As part of this agenda, he needs volunteers to support the programs of these organisations. Therefore, his construction of the two groups of actors is to justify his faith based agenda as the best measure for welfare reform.

A. Representations of the ‘Poor’ and ‘Welfare Recipients’ as the Morally Deficient

In Extract 1 (lines 30-35), Bush acknowledges at the start of the speech that the University of Notre Dame is a Catholic University which practices and incorporates service as well as religion in its curriculum. His purpose of drawing upon this fact right at the beginning of the speech is to promote the Faith Based Initiative by relating it to the objectives of the university.

Extract 1: Text B

30 Notre Dame, as a Catholic university, carries forward a great tradition
31 of social teaching. It calls on all of us, Catholic and non-Catholic, to
32 honor family, to protect life in all its stages, to serve and uplift the
33 poor. The University is more than a community of scholars, it is a
34 community of conscience – and an ideal place to report on our
35 nation’s commitment to the poor, and how we’re keeping it.

He refers to the university’s ‘*great tradition*’ (line 30) that calls on all (*‘It calls on all...’* line 31) to perform a number of deeds, one of which is *‘to serve and uplift the poor’*. There are two ideologically significant aspects to this phrase, firstly his nominalization of the people in poverty as *‘the poor’* (which is also evident in line 35) ‘impersonalises’ (Van Leeuwen, 1996) the actors, whereby they are not denoted by a noun with the semantic feature ‘human’. *‘The poor’* in fact is a form of ‘abstraction’ (Van Leeuwen, 1996), as the actors are represented by means of qualities assigned to them. In this case the phrase *‘the poor’* focuses only on the condition of poverty and infers that they are deserving of two elements, the sympathy and pity of the people providing service.

‘Impersonalisation’, according to Van Leeuwen (1996), backgrounds the identity of the actors (the people in poverty) to foreground those qualities that have been ascribed to them through the label of ‘*the poor*’. Bush uses the verbs, to ‘*serve*’ and ‘*uplift*’ (line 32), to describe the actions of helping ‘*the poor*’. While ‘*to serve*’ is a key feature of Christian teachings on charitable acts, to ‘*uplift the poor*’ also signifies religious principles in terms of moral or spiritual elevation. This connotes a metaphorical representation of raising or removing those in poverty to a higher level of moral and spiritual existence which in turn implies that the people in poverty are inferior in morals and therefore what they need is moral and spiritual ‘rehabilitation’. This line of reasoning justifies his rationale for advocating the faith based agenda as it calls upon religious organisations to help the poor.

Furthermore, ‘*poor*’ is the most commonly used term in this speech to refer to the people in poverty: ‘*the poor*’ is used 6 times, see also other forms, e.g., ‘*poor families*’ (line 44) and ‘*born poor*’ (line 42). These are examples of ‘generification’ (Van Leeuwen, 1996) that enable Bush to define the poor as a class of people with similar problems and conditions. This form of classification portrays poverty within the logic of ‘you are poor because you are born into poor families’ (‘*born poor*’). This highlights individual circumstances and the notion of generations of poverty rather than poverty as caused by other processes, e.g., economic recession or unemployment. Other examples of ‘generification’ cited in this speech include ‘*Disadvantaged children*’ (line 45), ‘*abandoned child*’ (line 99) and ‘*battered women and children*’ (lines 102-103), which are forms of ‘identification’ that foreground the problems of the individuals or groups referred to. It positions people

in poverty as 'problematic' with violent tendencies, e.g., battering their children and the women.

Such negative perspectives of the poor are central in Extract 2 (lines 66-75) where Bush turns to the issues of welfare and poverty. He refers to '*welfare recipients*' (lines 68-69) through similar negative evaluations of the poor that he uses. In this way he is able to link '*poverty*' with welfare reform ('*Welfare as we knew it has ended, but poverty has not*' line 66) through negative connotations.

Extract 2: Text B

66 Welfare as we knew it has ended, but poverty has not. When over 12
67 million children live below the poverty line, we are not a post-
68 poverty America. Most states are seeing the first wave of welfare
69 recipients who have reached the law's five-year time limit. The easy
70 cases have already left the welfare rolls. The hardest problems remain
71 -- people with far fewer skills and greater barriers to work. People
72 with complex human problems, like illiteracy and addiction, abuse
73 and mental illness. We do not yet know what will happen to these
74 men and women, or to their children. But we cannot sit and watch,
75 leaving them to their own struggles and their own fate.

Bush's reference to '*welfare recipients*' impersonalises them in order to make them the object of his welfare program. Here he refers to them as '*easy cases*' (lines 69-70) and through negative evaluations such as '*The hardest problems*' (lines 70-71). Those who have left welfare are quoted as the '*easy cases*' while '*the hardest problems*' are said to have been left behind. This implies that his administration is now faced with these '*hardest problems*'. Besides impersonalising this group of actors, he also 'categorises' them by way of 'identification' with regard to what they are (*problems*). He then further constructs them through negative

connotations such as '*people with complex human problems*' (lines 71-72). This implies that only people on welfare have problems, and that is why they are on welfare in the first place.

His construction of '*complex human problems*' establishes a cause and effect link between welfare, poverty and the causes of poverty, which achieves two objectives that favour his faith based agenda. It justifies his rationale for engaging religious groups to help the poor, and it helps to legitimate his reasoning for why federal money should be channelled into these organisations instead of welfare services. By drawing attention to the people on welfare as '*the hardest problems*', he focuses on their individual circumstances ('--*people with far fewer job skills and greater barriers to work*' line 71). This is a gloss which he goes on to describe in lines 72-73, again through negative evaluations – '*complex human problems, like illiteracy and addiction, abuse and mental illness*'.

While on the one hand this engages with the reality that job skills ensure work and what they need are more jobs, by directing attention to the '*human problems*' he implies that they are self-inflicted and therefore attributes blame on the welfare recipients for their condition. This is apparent in lines 74-75 (Extract 2), where Bush emphasises the phrase '*their own*' to refer to their problems ('*But we cannot sit and watch, leaving them to their own struggles and their own fate*'). This alleviates other causes of poverty such as lack of unemployment opportunities, a dysfunctional economic system or recession. This line of argument focuses on the moral deficiencies of the people on welfare and acts to justify why the government

should promote the work of religious groups that can help the former to solve their '*complex human problems*'.

When problems are constructed and listed as belonging together ('*complex human problems, like illiteracy, addiction, abuse and mental illness*' lines 72-73), there is a further negative element to this form of categorisation. As Fairclough (2000: 53) sees it, categorising them together in such a way dedifferentiates them:

i.e. it reduces the differences between them. In doing so, it excludes certain conceivable relationships between them, and hence certain meanings, which one would find in other discourses, that do not set up such equivalences...it excludes explanatory accounts of the relationship between problems and agencies which might produce formulations such as 'unemployment causes family breakdown' or 'poor housing can result in bad health' (Fairclough 2000: 53)

In reality all these issues are social concerns that are quite different from the other and require different solutions. For example, '*illiteracy*' is related to the education system; '*mental illness*' is a health issue; '*drug addiction*' as substance abuse can mean a medical problem or even a criminal offence. Classifying them together however aims to serve one purpose – it obscures the ideological premise on which this form of classification is based. A list such as this ('*illiteracy, mental illness, drug addiction, ' etc)* "favours a logic of appearances...rather than explanatory logic which tries to go beyond appearances to find explanations, including cause/effect relations between different problems and agencies" (Fairclough, 2000: 53).

This view is echoed by Edelman (1977: 23), who explains that such classificatory systems reinstate “a belief about causation that is partially accurate at best and therefore a dubious premise on which to base public policy”.

The names by which we refer to people and their problems continue, subtly but potently, to keep attention of authorities, professionals, and the general public focused on hopes of rehabilitation of the individual and to divert attentions from those results of established policies that are counterproductive. (Edelman, 1977: 26)

For Edelman this form of classification uses very subtle means of presenting the ‘problems’ and aims to evoke beliefs and perceptions that are generally accepted by the people uncritically, and it leads to the normalising of poverty. If the problems are stated as stemming from personal inadequacies and pathologies, the general meaning that is relayed is that welfare recipients/people in poverty are lazy or incompetent. Thus, drawing upon the personal circumstances and pathologies of the ‘*welfare recipients*’ and/or ‘*the poor*’ helps to shape public belief that the government’s agenda is just and is the best for everyone (Edelman, *ibid*: 27). This is the main focus of Bush’ message in Extract 3, where he characterises poverty as more than just lacking in resources, that people are poor because they lack guidance and control, whereby this line of argument acts as the rationale for his program.

Extract 3: Text B

96 Much of today's poverty has more to do with troubled lives than a
97 troubled economy. And often when a life is broken, it can only be
98 restored by another caring, concerned human being. The answer for
99 an abandoned child is not a job requirement -- it is the loving
100 presence of a mentor. The answer to addiction is not a demand for

101 self-sufficiency -- it is personal support on the hard road to recovery.

In lines 96-101 (above) he reasserts that poverty is caused by individual circumstances (*'troubled lives than a troubled economy'* lines 96-97) such as drug addiction or abandonment of children (lines 98-101). In contrast, he brings into the message his solution to the problems of the poor. He states that the solution is not paid employment (*'not a job requirement'* line 99), or welfare benefits (*'not a demand for self-sufficiency'* line 101). His solution focuses on the people in religious or charitable organisations (*'caring, concerned human being'* line 98), who can restore order in the lives of the poor (*'The answer to addiction is not a demand forit is personal support ...to recovery'* lines 100-101). This incurs a discourse of moral underclass (Levitas, 2004) and the idea that social exclusion is more than poverty; it is caused by the moral deficiencies of *'the poor'/'welfare recipients'* rather than other external factors such as unemployment or lack of resources.

In summary, Bush represents people in poverty and welfare recipients through negative evaluations. He places emphasis on *'human problems'* to describe poverty and welfare dependence as caused by personal circumstances such as abandoned children, drug addiction, mental illness and violent tendencies (battered children and women) that describe them as pathological and therefore problematic. In this way, his representations of the poor and welfare recipients help to justify his claims that what is needed is the help of religious and charitable organisations that can help to solve the problems of the poor which originate from their morally deficient culture. His welfare policy focuses on the personal problems of the people in poverty rather than external factors, e.g. recession, which is a measure to confuse

the symptoms with the cause in order to attribute blame on the people in poverty for their condition of being poor and for turning to welfare. This line of argument helps to justify Bush's plans to spend federal money to support faith and charitable organisations instead of welfare programs.

B. Representations of Service Providers as 'The Good People'

Defining the poor and welfare recipients as 'problematic' evokes the moral underclass discourse. And one key feature of this discourse is the view that the poor are socially excluded due to their moral inadequacies. This distinguishes an included majority of which the people in poverty are not a part of (Levitas, 1998). In this section, I demonstrate how Bush reinforces the idea that the poor are socially excluded from mainstream society using the 'us and them' categorisation that differentiates and distances the people in poverty from the included majority.

In Extract 2 (lines 73-75) this message is clearly indicated where Bush distinguishes the poor as a separate group from the rest of the society (*'We do not yet know what will happen to these men and women, or to their children. But we cannot sit and watch, leaving them to their own struggles and their own fate'*). Using the inclusive 'we', he collectively defines Bush (+) audience as the included majority, while the people in poverty are referred to as *'these men and women'*, *'their children'*, *'them'* and their problems as *'their own struggles and their own fate'*. This ascribes to an 'us' and 'them' categorisation which defines people in poverty as the 'Other'. This form of 'Othering' is even more pronounced in his representations of the service providers as the better people.

In this speech, his reference to them is always within the context of promoting his program. His representations of the service providers and their activities are stated in a positive light to justify why government needs to channel more money to faith and charitable organisations. For example in Extract 4 (lines 144-146), the service providers are referred to as '*the good people in local communities*' and the message centres on the government's funding of the programs of these organisations.

Extract 4: Text B

144 ...Government must be active
145 enough to fund services for the poor – and humble enough to let the
146 good people in local communities provide those services.

He also refers to them as the '*local community helpers and healers*' ('...we are working to ensure that local and community helpers and healers receive more federal dollars, greater private support and face fewer bureaucratic barriers' lines 148-151, Appendix 4) and as '*their helpers and their healers*' ('...I hope America's foundations consider ways they may devote more of their money to our nation's neighbourhood and their helpers and healers' lines 204-207, Appendix 4). These are all representations that 'functionalise' (Van Leeuwen, 1996) the actors in terms of what they do (the service they perform) and include forms of 'appraisement' (Van Leeuwen, 1996) through the positive qualities assigned to them, e.g. '*good people*'.

Bush also draws upon examples of famous people who are well known for their voluntary involvement in service, e.g. 'Mother Theresa' (line 108) and 'Notre Dame's own Lou Nanni' (line 113). He quotes Lou Nanni's mission as "*repairing*

the fabric” of society by letting people see the inherent “worth and dignity and God-given potential” of every human being’ (lines 119-120). This is a form of ‘nomination’. The actors are referred to in terms of their unique identity which in this case is the honorific status they have achieved through their service to people in poverty. By ‘nominalising’ such people of exalted virtues and their involvement in service, Bush’s aim is to further increase the social standings of those engaged in service. In this way, the service providers are given more authority as the ‘doers’ rather than the ‘receivers’, which makes them the active agents in the service community. This helps to normalise power differentials between those performing service and the poor. But it helps to strengthen the claims that the poor will benefit greatly from the help of these people.

In Extract 5 (lines 102-107), Bush gives some examples of the kinds of help and support that the charitable and faith based organisations give.

Extract 5: Text B

102 The hope we seek is found in safe havens for battered women and
103 children, in homeless shelters, in crisis pregnancy centers, in
104 programs that tutor and conduct job training and help young people
105 when they happen to be on parole. All these efforts provide not just a
106 benefit, but attention and kindness, a touch of courtesy, a dose of
107 grace.

He portrays these organisations in a positive light as providing protection and security. The charitable programs are situated as ‘*safe havens*’, e.g. ‘*homeless shelters*’, ‘*crisis pregnancy centers*’ (lines 102-103); their activities are described as helping ‘*programs that tutor and conduct job training*’ (line 104); and their efforts

are ascribed moral connotations of divine proportions ('*kindness*', '*a touch of courtesy*', '*a dose of grace*' lines 106-107). But he juxtaposes 'the good' with the 'problematic', e.g. *battered women and children*, those '*on parole*', thereby depicting the lives of 'the poor' as filled with violence, unwanted pregnancies, unemployment and crime, which helps him construct them as socially excluded due to these reasons.

Bush's ideology of compassionate conservatism thus positions the service providers in high esteem in comparison to the people in poverty who are described as 'problematic'. This normalises inequalities and power relations as the service providers are primed as those who are going to change the lives of the poor or save them. And his Faith Based Initiative is justified because those called on to serve are the '*good people*'. Bush characterises the included majority as 'we/us' who are morally and spiritually upright citizens of America. In contrast, people in poverty are constructed as 'they/them' who only have themselves to blame for their condition of poverty and sufferings. Their life of poverty is synonymous with crime, drug addiction and violence, justifying his claims that the only measure that can eradicate poverty is one that reforms the poor by giving them spiritual and moral guidance.

Bush's rhetoric creates asymmetrical relations of power through an 'us' and 'them' categorisation to differentiate those in poverty from the rest of the people (the included majority). Their individual pathologies have been defined as the reasons for their conditions of being poor as well as their dependence on welfare. This is a measure in normalising poverty whereby when the conditions of the people in

poverty are defined through their personal circumstances and pathologies, poverty becomes a normal feature of society – that it exists and therefore is an ordinary part of life in general. These elements of his representations also evoke the moral underclass discourse (Levitas, 2004).

7.3.3 Representing the Social Reality of Poverty and Welfare

In the previous section, my analysis demonstrated some elements of the compassionate conservatism ideology that ascribes to inequalities and power relationships by positioning those performing service in a higher status through their role as the providers of service. The people in poverty are described as the ‘moral underclass’ who are socially excluded. In this section, my analysis looks more specifically on Bush’s representations of the social reality of poverty and welfare to uncover more examples of the moral underclass discourse that he uses. The data for the analysis includes extracts from both Texts A and B.

A. Constructing Poverty by Attributing Blame to the Poor

Bush’s representations as we saw in the previous sections incline towards Edelman’s Pattern 1 of poverty – that those in poverty are responsible for their fate and in need of help or counselling. This was apparent in Extract 3 (Text B, lines 96-101) where Bush established that poverty is caused by ‘*troubled lives*’ and these problems can be resolved by ‘*another caring, concerned human being, ‘loving presence of a mentor’, support*’ from service providers. But his construction of the people in poverty as the ‘Other’, and his representations of poverty, those on

welfare, welfare itself and the reasons for poverty, all contradict his political claims that compassionate conservatism is about compassion, inclusion and equality.

In Extract 6 (lines 76-80) Bush boasts of his agenda as the means for repairing the fabric of the society and denounces '*social division*' or '*class*' differentiation that happen through violence and crime ('*divided by fences and gates and guards*' lines 76-80).

Extract 6: Text B

76 There is a great deal at stake. In our attitudes and actions, we are
77 determining the character of our country. When poverty is considered
78 hopeless, America is condemned to permanent social division,
79 becoming a nation of caste and class, divided by fences and gates and
80 guards.

But he attributes blame to the people in poverty as being responsible for '*social division*'. Here it is more about what poverty does. It '*condemns America to permanent social division*' ('*When poverty is considered hopeless, America is condemned to permanent social division*' lines 77-78). His reference to '*divided by fences, gates and guards*' refers to prisons and the police, mental institutions etc., which implies that people in poverty are socially excluded due to these reasons. Thus the phrases '*social division*' and '*a nation of caste and class*' are substitutes for the concept of social exclusion. In this sense, poverty is about social exclusion, not lack of resources, and this is caused by the individual circumstances or pathologies of the poor. Moreover, blaming the poor enables Bush to legitimate his agenda. It not only targets poverty by improving the lives of those living in poverty, but also

claims to enhance the unity of the American people (*'build our country's unity'* lines 81-82, Extract 7) through voluntary service *'compassion'* (line 87, Extract 8).

Extract 7: Text B

81 Our task is clear, and it's difficult: we must build our country's unity
82 by extending our country's blessings....

Extract 8: Text B

87 We are committed to compassion for practical reasons. When men
88 and women are lost to themselves, they are also lost to our nation.

Therefore underlying his policy is this view that in order to ensure social cohesion we need to reduce social division. Social division, in turn, happens because of poverty, which involves crime and punishment (*'When poverty is considered hopeless, America is condemned to permanent social division,... divided by fences and gates and guards'* lines 79-80). Therefore any measure that aims for social cohesion needs to focus on bringing the poor back to the mainstream society through moral rehabilitation. And as his representations of the poor are similar to that of the welfare recipients (see Section 7.3.2), whereby he constructs both groups as problematic, this also implies that not only does poverty lead to social exclusion, but also to welfare dependency. This point is discussed further in the next section.

B. Constructing Poverty as a Condition and Outcome of Social Exclusion

In this speech, Bush describes his program through the metaphor of war as *'the third stage of combating poverty in America'* (lines 133-138, Extract 9) involves the faith and charitable groups (lines 136-138).

Extract 9: Text B

133 The War on Poverty established a federal commitment to the poor.
134 The welfare reform legislation of 1996 made that commitment more
135 effective. For the task ahead, we must move to the third stage of
136 combating poverty in America. Our society must enlist, equip and
137 empower idealistic Americans in the works of compassion that only
138 they can provide.

Eradicating poverty is described as his '*war on poverty*' that must '*deploy*' '*weapons of spirit*' (lines 127-128, Text B). Therefore his '*assault on poverty*' (line 216, Text B) aims to '*wipe out poverty*' (line 42, Text B). Verbs such as '*assault*', '*fight*', '*wipe out*', '*combating*' in Bush's speech treat poverty as a problem and therefore an object and a condition that needs to be tackled (Fairclough, 2000: 55). For example in lines 76-80 (Extract 6, Text B), Bush's constant focus on the personal failures of people in poverty constructs poverty as a condition that they are in rather than something that has been done to them by external factors. This helps him to obscure the agents of the exclusion. People in poverty are portrayed as '*men and women*' who '*are lost to themselves*', or as '*millions*' who '*are hopeless*' lines 87-90 ('*When men and women are lost to themselves, they are also lost to our nation*' Text B). This implies that the poor have become marooned from mainstream society ('*lost to our nation*'), and the reason for the exclusion is their morally defunct culture and values.

Some of the collocations of the term 'poverty' in Bush's speeches that help to define it as a condition include '*poverty and dependence*' (Text A, line 201) and '*poverty and suffering*' (Text B, line 196), which are similar to the rhetorical strategies he uses to define welfare through negative evaluations, e.g. '*welfare*

dependency' (Text B, line 60), *'dependency and despair'* (Text A, lines 187-188), *'an enemy of personal effort and responsibility'* (Text B, line 47-48), *'a static and destructive way of life'* (Text A, line 175-176). All these terms incur the moral underclass discourse. As Levitas explains, for MUD "benefit payments become a moral hazard encouraging dependency rather than a social good preventing destitution" (2004: 44). In this way, Bush positions both poverty and welfare through negative evaluations in order to construct not only poverty but also welfare as leading to social divisions. And the main discourse that enables him to substantiate this claim is the moral underclass discourse which he uses to legitimate his faith based agenda.

7.3.4 Legitimizing the Faith Based Agenda through the Moral Underclass Discourse

My analyses of Bush's representations of the actors as well as the social reality of welfare and poverty show elements of MUD that focuses on the moral deficiencies of the poor (*'illiteracy, addiction, abuse and mental illness'* lines 72-73, Text B) as the main cause of poverty (*'today's poverty has more to do with troubled lives than a troubled economy'* lines 96-98, Text B). And poverty is described as *'hopeless'* and leads to social exclusion (*'social division'* of *'caste and class'*, lines 78-79, Extract 6, Text B). His measure of enlisting faith and charitable organisations for the provision of welfare services calls for spiritual rehabilitation and control of the poor, e.g., *'It is conservative to encourage the work and community spirit and responsibility and the values that often come from faith. And with this approach we*

can change lives one soul at a time... ' (lines 214-216, Text A). In this sense, Bush's discourse of welfare reform is a move away from the redistributionist discourse (RED) of Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty (1964-1969) that saw improvements in social services; and the social integrationist discourse (SID) of Clinton's 1996 Welfare to Work Provisions.

Both these programs are mentioned by Bush in his speech to the audience at Notre Dame University (lines 36-59, Text B) in order to justify his Faith Based Initiative as the better option. This was also evident in my analysis of Text A in Section 7.2, where Bush advocates his program (as effective and close to the people) with his counter arguments that America does not need big government (one that spends on welfare programs as Johnson did) or an indifferent government (one that get people into paid work, implemented by Clinton) (see lines 127-132 and 212-217, Text A). In summary, by employing a moral underclass discourse, Bush legitimates his Faith Based Initiative as the measure to change the culture of the poor and advocates a moral and spiritual reform (*'change lives one soul at a time'* lines 216-217, Appendix 1) in order to bring them back to 'normality' via social cohesion.

7.4 Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter, I set out to investigate the ideology of compassionate conservatism – the dominant view of the Bush administration with regard to welfare reform. I analysed Bush's speeches in which he promotes his agenda for welfare reform. The focus of his agenda is the enlisting of faith and charitable organisations in the provisions of social services. In the first part of the chapter, I

looked at his strategic use of 'we' to construct 'community' for collective action to promote his agenda and gain the American people's support for his agenda. My analysis demonstrated that Bush moved constantly back and forth from the inclusive 'we' to the exclusive 'we' to suit the purpose of his message which was to promote the faith based agenda as the best option for welfare reform. In this way, he positioned the government through its limitations in terms of what it can or cannot do, and the people as partners to the government in the delivery of social services.

The government is delineated as the 'empowerer' of people which gives agency to the service providers and foregrounds their role as 'community' to help the people in poverty. At the same time, he strategically distances the government from its role and duties in social services. Helping people in poverty therefore becomes constructed as the task of the nation, not the government, which is the basic argument for Bush's Faith Based Initiative. This leads to the 'responsibilization' (Rose, 1996: 335) of the people in their communities, which constructs the service providers or the included majority as belonging in a caring society that come together to help those in poverty.

This ideology places emphasis on the responsibility of individuals to their community ('*Government... can encourage people and communities to help themselves and to help one another*' line 141, Extract 4). This idea of collective resolve of 'community' also infers a system of social organisation based on self-governing communities. The notion of self-government is evident in Bush's speech ('*We are using an active government to promote self-government. We're*

encouraging individuals and communities and families to take more and more responsibility for themselves, for their neighbors, for our nation' lines 255-259, Appendix 3). In this way, 'community' becomes institutionalised as part of the Faith Based Initiative and 'governmentalised' (Rose, 1996, *ibid*: 331) via the concept of 'voluntary community service' as it embraces a more technical meaning through its link to welfare reform.

The role of government in compassionate conservatism is to support people in taking responsibility for themselves and others. The government is represented as a resource for social improvement whereby it acts to facilitate communal and collective action of the people to solve social problems. Defining the role of the government and the people in this way has enabled Bush to link personal, communal and governmental responsibilities. It thereby articulates a rhetorical stance that incorporates social institutions with governance (cf. Kuypers, et al., *ibid*: 12-13). This makes Bush's Faith Based Initiative a 'technology of government' (Foucault, 1991a) which enables the Bush administration to practice authoritative action from a relative distance through community networks that interface between the government and its people. It evinces his move towards 'governance-through-community' (Rose, 1996).

But underlying his construction of 'community' is the idea of regulation and control which define his Faith Based program as a program of conduct (Foucault, 1991a). In the second part of the analysis, I focused on Bush's representations of two categories of actors – those called on to serve and those in need of their service. I

also looked at his representations of the social reality of welfare and poverty. My aim was to locate the main discourses that he employs to legitimate his faith based agenda for welfare reform. His Faith Based Initiative is based on the idea that people of faith can improve the lives of the socially excluded poor, through '*compassion*' and '*acts of decency and kindness*'. In this way, he legitimates his faith based agenda as the answer to the problem of poverty faced by the nation. This is also his solution to the issue of moral degradation that plagues people in poverty.

In general, through his representations that describe the people in poverty as lacking in moral values rather than resources, Bush uses the discourses of social exclusion and one of its derivatives – the moral underclass discourse – to help legitimate his agenda as the best option. He draws upon the idea that the people in poverty are poor and dependent on welfare due to their personal inadequacies and pathologies rather than other causes such as economic conditions, unemployment, recession, etc. In this way, they are blamed and held responsible for their conditions of poverty. This enables him to define both poverty and welfare as the outcome of social exclusion whereby the poor are marooned from the rest of the society, and welfare dependency is seen as exacerbating social exclusion.

In comparison, he uses the 'us and them' categorisation that divides the included majority from the people in poverty. He positions those involved in volunteerism as people of exalted virtues who form a caring society. In this sense, by constructing the service providers in a positive light through forms of 'appraisalment' (Van Leeuwen, 1995), Bush draws upon American exceptionalist view which is a

key strategy in the construction of American identity. But Bush's use of American exceptionalism here is to achieve the goals of compassionate conservatism to create a virtuous society – a caring society that comes together to tackle social issues (see Kuypers et al., 2003, in Chapter 4).

In summary, compassionate conservatism's approach to welfare reform calls upon responsibility and is reminiscent of the traditional conservative's life-long pledge to abolish the welfare state (Kuypers et al., 2003). It also reflects the fundamental Christian right wing agenda based on the long-standing argument of conservatives that the modern Welfare State was not helping America's poor, but causing a moral and social decline (Kuypers et. al., 2003: 4). This mirrors the arguments of Bush's political advisor, Marvin Olasky (discussed in Chapter 4), that the welfare state has done too much damage to society and that the care of the poor must be the responsibility of private individuals and organisations, particularly faith-based organisations. In this sense, government programs are portrayed as counterproductive and ineffective because they are disconnected from the poor, while private charity has the power to change lives as it allows for a personal connection between the giver and the recipient (Olasky, 2000).

Bush's use of the term 'compassion' through a moral/ religious discourse (discussed in Chapter 5), and his use of the concept of 'community' for collective action of the people, is his way to embed his conservative ideology, i.e., the right wing Christian principles of traditional conservatism in a moderate sounding rhetoric. While on the surface compassionate conservatism (and Bush) boasts of

‘communalism’ and ‘compassion’, in reality it is a far cry from its claims of the Christian traditions of ‘love thy neighbor’. According to Nussbaum (2001: 301), compassion is “a painful emotion occasioned by the awareness of another person’s undeserved misfortune” that regards it as a complex emotion including such cognitive beliefs that the suffering of the other is serious, and that the suffering person does not deserve the pain (Nussbaum, 2001: 306ff.). This means that the suffering person is an innocent victim of his circumstances and not responsible for his pain or poverty. But Bush’s representations of the people in poverty that attribute blame to them and holds them responsible for their state of poverty, draws upon the concept of pauperism. While ‘poverty’ refers to lack of resources, ‘pauperism’ refers to the corruption of a person’s inner self, i.e., lack of discipline, self-respect and a sense of commitment to others (Tomasi, 2004: 332).

According to Davies (2005: 5), pauperism draws on a Victorian notion of “moral degeneracy, sloth and general turpitude...In this full blooded version of the underclass theory, the excluded have only themselves to blame for their malaise”. Thus, constructing poverty as moral and spiritual delinquency has played a key role in Bush’s legitimization of his Faith Based Initiative as the best option for welfare reform. In this way, through the ‘cloak of compassion’ – by conflating the moral/religious and communitarian discourses to naturalise the marginalisation of the people in poverty, he has also naturalised his conservative ideology that sees the welfare state as damaging to society.

I demonstrated in this chapter that Bush's Faith Based Initiative is a program of conduct that aims for the regulation and control of the people in poverty. In the next chapter, I will show that the USA Freedom Corps is structured and implemented as a program of conduct that also aims for social regulation and control.

People know what they do; they frequently know why they do what they do; but what they don't know is what they do does.
(Foucault, 1983a)

Chapter 8

Legitimizing and Naturalising Government Ideology via Voluntary Community Service

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter, my focus is on the ‘instrumental case study’ (Punch, 1998) involving a school-based practice of voluntary service known as Service Learning (SL). It represents my investigation of the grassroots practice of voluntary service and looks at it as part of the larger national service programme, the USA Freedom Corps. It illustrates the inter-relationship between the macro-level practices of the Bush government and its ideology for welfare reform through analyses of Bush’s speeches in Chapters 5-7, and the micro-level everyday practices of VCS, demonstrated through analyses of a selection of data from the ethnographic study. In this sense, it draws upon Foucault’s views of ‘technologies of government’ and ‘technologies of self’ as the link between the government and society via its means to manage the population (see discussion in Chapter 2).

The analyses use CDA’s perspectives on text and interaction, namely ‘intertextuality’, i.e., how texts are constituted by specific other texts that have been overtly drawn upon, borrowed from, merged into, etc (see discussion of

‘intertextuality’ in Chapter 2). Intertextuality is also seen as part of recontextualisation: when social practices are recontextualised, this involves the incorporation of one social practice (i.e., genre) into another. In other words, recontextualisation involves a selective appropriation and ordering of other discourses, e.g., inclusion and exclusion of some elements of the discourses. Bernstein (1990: 17) explicitly recognises the role of textual and linguistic analysis with regard to recontextualisation:

[T]he text is the form of the social relationship made visible, palpable, material. It should be possible to recover the original specialised interactional practice from the analysis of its texts in context.

The concepts of intertextuality and recontextualisation are used in this chapter to show the link between the discourses of one actor to another, i.e., traces or features of the discourses of one actor in another’s. The analysis investigates the discourses of student-volunteers, teachers/trainers, volunteer agencies that engage volunteers such as students, and a government organisation that acts as a resource or facilitator to the other organisations, to consider how these actors are positioned through VCS, and how this helps to shape and influence their social relationships with each other. I aim to show how similar discourses of VCS are recontextualised into a given actor’s discourses, e.g., in the students’ construction of self identity. The analyses will demonstrate that there are intertextual elements whereby traces of the discourses used by the Bush government for its policy of welfare reform can be found in some of the discourses employed by the various actors when representing their involvement in VCS. In this way, the analyses will demonstrate how via the

practice of VCS the government ideology comes to be shared in society as commonsense.

For this purpose, the literature on identity construction, i.e. reflexive modernity, stylisation and performativity, recontextualisation, intertextuality and subject positioning, are all crucial as the underlying principles for the analyses (see discussions in Chapters 2 and 3). My focus is on the Rosberg students and their involvement in voluntary service which is part of their school's curriculum. In this study, I look upon the students' involvement in service as the main feature in their construction of identity. Long-term sustained involvement in service is seen as crucial in defining and reinforcing their specific identity. Furthermore, their social status as middle class (their habitus) provides them with the opportunities to be involved in service, while their positioning of the people they help, determines their relationship with each other, and in turn plays a role in their construction of self.

In general, the study considers the following as the main elements in identity construction:

- i. Reflexive project of self (Giddens, 1991) – self-identity is constructed through a continuous on-going narrative of self. Here I look at a class of first-year students' accounts of their service experience. The analysis illustrates how their involvement in service helps them to construct a specific elite identity of self.

- ii. Sustained long-term involvement in activity and the enactment of social relations are crucial factors in reinforcing identities – my data involves an interview with a senior student, John S, whose involvement in service for four years (longer term) has played a role in his construction of identity. The analysis shows how ingroup identification sustains and further supports this student's construction of a superior collective identity.
- iii. Identities are constructed in practices and involve others (Blommaert, 2005) – the students' involvement in voluntary service is a key element in their construction of self. In this interview, we will see John confirming that the student-volunteers are 'told' by their teacher to behave, talk, dress, etc in certain preferred ways. This draws upon notions of performing identity and stylisation. My analysis will demonstrate that other actors such as teachers, trainers and volunteer agencies play a key role in not only shaping the students' discourses but also in helping to reinforce the students' elite identity.
- iv. Identity construction is closely related to ideology – the Bush government's ideology plays a key role in defining the identities of the volunteers. This is a key argument in this thesis that the social practice of VCS is a hegemonic practice that aims to steer the volunteers to the desired values, beliefs, attitudes, lifestyle, etc. My

analysis will show evidence of the discourses/ideology of the government in the discourses of the grassroots practitioners such as the Rosberg students, teachers, etc.

To show the link between the Bush government (its ideology) and the social practice of VCS, I start in Section 8.2 by providing the social structure of the practice of VCS under the patronage of the USA Freedom Corps. This overview of the service community in contemporary America looks at the different organisations that operate as part of the national service network – viewed here as the two levels of community service practitioners. At the macro level, we have the USA Freedom Corps and other government-led or backed organisations that facilitate, fund or oversee the service involvement of the grassroots practitioners. And the micro level involves the different organisations that are directly involved in the activity of volunteering, such as volunteer agencies that engage volunteers for their programs, schools, universities, corporations, etc.

The purpose of illustrating the macro and micro level practices is to show that by being part of the USA Freedom Corps, the social practice of VCS incurs a social structure. My analysis aims to show that this social structure determines the discourse, i.e. the social practice, and that it also involves ‘an order of discourse’ (Fairclough, 1989) through which certain aspects of the practice are regulated or controlled through conventions, discourses, or rules established by those at the macro level. Furthermore, I hope to illustrate in this chapter that while the social structure determines the discourse, the discourses themselves also maintain and

determine the social structure. This crucial factor helps to make the social practice of VCS in modern-day America, a hegemonic practice.

8.2 The Social Structure of the Social Practice of VCS in the Post September 11 Era

In this section, I provide an overview of the service community in contemporary America. I start with a description of what (Service Learning) SL is and move on to situate SL as part of the larger national service initiative. My overview will provide details of the various organisations that form the service community that interface between government and society. SL is a pedagogy that incorporates community service into the curriculum. In SL courses, students participate in a service activity for a non-profit organisation and then reflect on the service activity in such a way as to gain further understanding of course content, a broader appreciation of the discipline, and an enhanced sense of civic responsibility, therefore it is critical that the service activity mirrors course content (Bringle & Hatcher, 1995).

A good example of SL experience is when a group of learners of Spanish engage in service in a Spanish speaking community. They may spend time tutoring children in the community to speak English, and this provides them with an opportunity to practise their Spanish language skills with the children and their families. In this way, SL is said to be a reciprocal practice through which both volunteers (mainly students) and the people being served benefit together through the service activity. For this purpose, reflective tasks are built into the program in

order for students to have a greater insight into their understanding of the service activities. These reflective tasks form the main element of SL pedagogy. The reflective tasks are mostly structured and in written form. They can involve getting the students to write essays about their service experience or just answering some questions, statements to elicit information, etc.¹ In the SL community, while the main volunteers are students, other members such as teachers manage, organise and structure the programs for the students. Parents occasionally join in their children's projects or make donations, e.g., monetary or other donations in kind such as materials required for the project.

According to Eyler et al., (2001) the practice of SL has become widespread in the past decade. But this practice can also be said to have become even more so after September 11 under the auspices of President Bush's national service initiative, the USA Freedom Corps,² as today SL is also part of the USA Freedom Corps. Thus as part of the national service program, this social practice is based on the idea of community networks and involves various organisations that interface the government and the society (cf. 'governance through community', Rose, 1996).

There are also other organisations such as state and government funded bodies involved in the 'SL' community. Here the term 'community' is used to

¹ In the case of the Rosberg SL program for example, Mrs C., their SL Director cum teacher, provides them with a standard form to elicit information about their experience, e.g. 'What I observed, What I learned', etc. The students are then asked to submit their 'reflections' to Mrs C, who then compiles them as part her report on the students' involvement in service. And together with other information such as hours completed, this record will be used as evidence of the students' involvement in service to fulfil the requirement for graduation.

² This was discussed in Chapter 1. The Bureau of Labour Statistics stated that volunteerism is at a record high in comparison to the past thirty years, due to President Bush's call for service and the USA Freedom Corps (United States Department of Labor News. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS): www.bls.gov/news.release/volun.nr0.htm)

describe not only the micro and macro level ‘communities’ of service, but also the different actors/organisations involved in the practice. For example, the Faith Based Organisations (known as FBO’s) and charities, e.g., volunteer centres or agencies that compete for government funding³ are known as ‘*Community Partners*’ by the service practitioners. The service recipients are known as the ‘*Community in Need*’, and this includes various organisations such as homes that care for the elderly, after school programs for young children, soup kitchens, shelters for the homeless, etc. Diagram 1 illustrates what I consider as the ‘SL Community’.

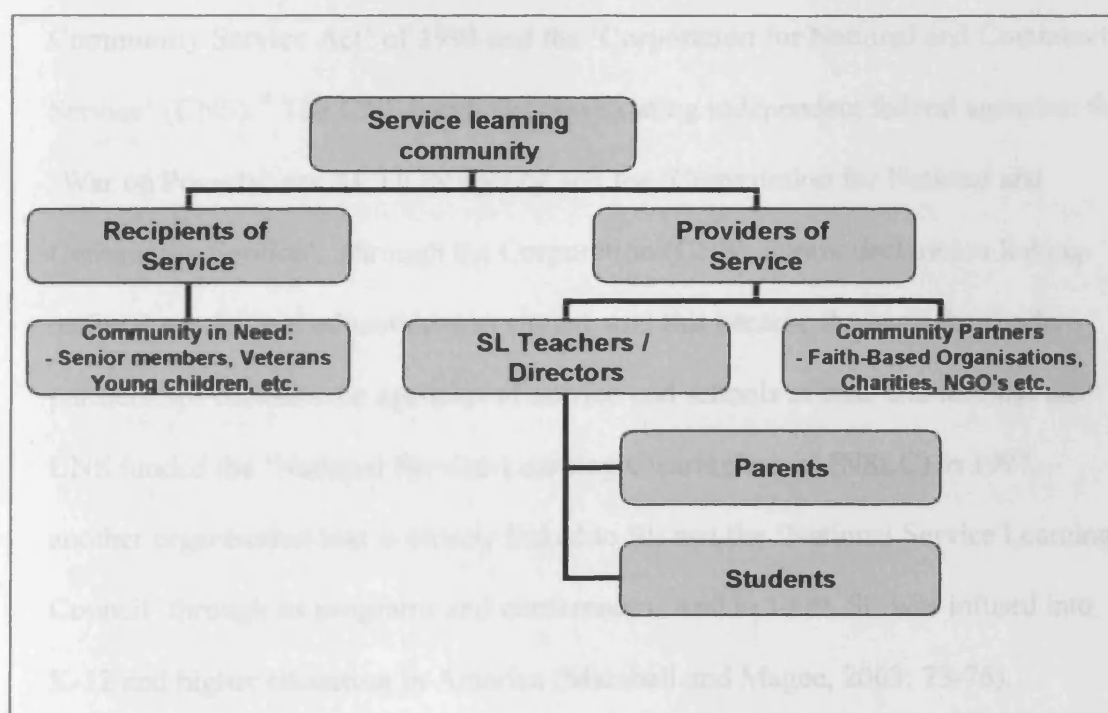


Diagram 1: Micro Level Service Learning Community

In this diagram, I have collectively labelled the students, teachers/SL directors, parents, and the ‘community partners’ as belonging together as the

³ The Faith and Charitable Organisations that are a part of Bush's Faith Based Agenda, engage volunteers in their programs, they are known as 'Community Partners'.

‘Providers of Service’, while the people being served such as young children, senior members have been stated as the ‘Recipients of Service’. The Providers of Service and the Recipients of Service form the ‘SL community’. I consider the SL community to be the micro level component of the larger National Service Community.

At the national level, SL is part of ‘Learn and Serve America’ that creates programs to provide training and development to teachers, trainers, and others who guide volunteers in their service activities. This comes under the ‘National and Community Service Act’ of 1993 and the ‘Corporation for National and Community Service’ (CNS).⁴ The CNS combines two existing independent federal agencies: the ‘War on Poverty’ era ACTION agency and the ‘Commission for National and Community Service’. Through the Corporation (CNS), a joint declaration linking national service and education was signed, and this became the basis for similar partnerships between the agencies of service and schools at state and local levels. CNS funded the ‘National Service-Learning Clearinghouse’ (NSLC) in 1997, another organisation that is closely linked to SL and the ‘National Service Learning Council’ through its programs and conferences. And in 1999, SL was infused into K-12 and higher education in America (Marshall and Magee, 2003: 73-76).

⁴ All these information about SL and the national initiatives can be obtained from the National Service Learning Partnership, A Brief History About Service Learning (<http://www.service-learningpartnership.org>). Also see Students in Service to America (<http://www.studentsinservicetoamerica.org>).

In 2001, President Bush signed into law ‘The USA Initiative’⁵ that was set up in memory of those who lost their lives on September 11, 2001. It is administered by the ‘Points of Light Foundation’ (an organisation founded by the former President Bush in 1989 to award recognition to volunteer efforts) and the ‘Volunteer Centre National Network’. In 2002, the USA Freedom Corps was launched by President Bush as the coordinating council and White House office that oversees all national service programs in America. To recognise the contributions of volunteers around the nation, he also created the ‘President’s Council on Service and Civic Participation’ in 2003, and the ‘President’s Volunteer Service Award’ program which is administered via the ‘Points of Light Foundation’. SL is part of the larger government-led organisations under the Service Act of 1993. After September 11, all these different organisations and programs came under the tutelage of the USA Freedom Corps, Bush’s national service initiative.⁶ The Rosberg School SL program for example was implemented in 2002. I present this structure in Diagram 2. I consider this as the macro level structure of the service community in contemporary America, which oversees the micro-level SL community illustrated in Diagram 1. Each of these organisations is linked with the SL community through their programs, the training and information they disseminate.

⁵ The USA Initiative was known as The USA Act, and was created after September 11. It is part of the Points of Light Foundation And Volunteer Center National Network’s program that offer schools, students and organisations to be involved in service-learning programs to honour those who lost their lives on September 11. The program also helps students to be involved in service throughout their lives as students in order to complete at least 800 hours by high school graduation. In this way, it hopes to instil the habits and skills for a lifetime of volunteering (<http://www.studentsinservicetoamerica.org>).

⁶ In tandem with the developments of this macro structure of the service network, Bush also implemented his Compassionate Capital Fund in 2002. The Fund is to enlist faith and charitable organisations in the provisions of social services. And in 2003, the Faith Based Initiatives officially became signed into law (see Newlin, 2002).

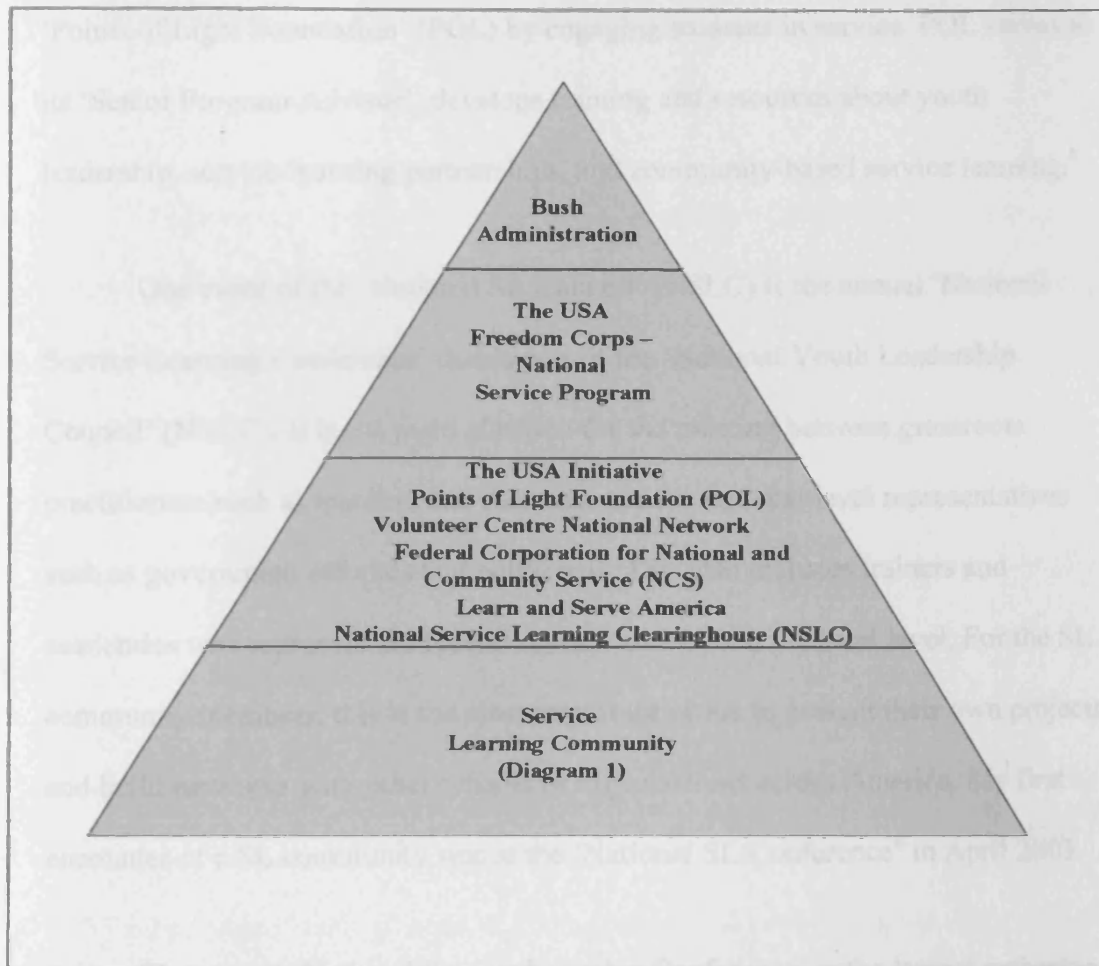


Diagram 2: National Voluntary Service Community – Macro level National service programs/organisations and micro level SL practice

In this way, they interface Bush's government and the society. For example, 'Learn and Serve America'⁷ supports SL programs in schools and communities across America by providing training and federal assistance such as grants or resources, through the 'National SL Clearinghouse' (NSLC) and the 'National SL Training and Technical Assistance Program'. Today NSLC works together with the

⁷ During one of my fieldtrips in Oklahoma, I spent a day at a training session for K-12 teachers, conducted by Learn and Serve America teacher educators. In this session, the teachers were taken through the basics of SL pedagogy and given guidelines for grant application for SL projects in their schools. In this way, the federal level Learn and Serve America is linked to teachers and schools and their volunteer projects.

‘Points of Light Foundation’ (POL) by engaging students in service. POL serves as its ‘Senior Program Advisor’, develops training and resources about youth leadership, service-learning partnerships, and community-based service learning.⁸

One event of the ‘National SL Council’ (NSLC) is the annual ‘National Service Learning Conference’ that is part of the ‘National Youth Leadership Council’ (NYLC). It is the main platform for the meeting between grassroots practitioners such as teachers and students, and the national level representatives such as government officials and politicians. This also includes trainers and academics who represent the federal service initiative at the local level. For the SL community members, this is the most important venue to present their own projects and build networks with other schools or organisations across America. My first encounter of a SL community was at the ‘National SL Conference’ in April 2003.

The annual ‘National Service Learning Conference’ is the largest gathering of SL practitioners, students, teachers, trainers, NGO’s and government officials involved in voluntary service. This account illustrates the role of the NSLC as part of the macro level service community through its gathering of SL practitioners. There were close to 3000 participants who attended the conference, with approximately 75% being students who presented their SL projects. The theme for the 2003 conference was ‘Citizens not Spectators’. In the following years the themes included ‘Educating for Change’ (NSLC 2004) and ‘We the People of America’

⁸ This information can be found in the Students in Service to America Guidebook (<http://www.studentsinservicetoamerica.org/guidebook>)

(NSLC 2005). These themes are passed down from governmental agenda and policies.

‘Citizens not Spectators’ for example is a phrase from Bush’s 2001 Inaugural Address that draws upon the view of the duties and responsibilities of the American people as a ‘civic community’, while ‘We the People of America...’ is a phrase from The Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence (1991: 1). This phrase draws upon the notion of nationalism and American exceptionalist thoughts that define the people as a ‘nation-state’. These elements were present in Bush’s speeches which my analyses have demonstrated (see Chapters 5 and 6). This is just one example of intertextuality, whereby the Bush government’s ideology/discourses have been recontextualised as part of the representations of organisations such as the ‘National Youth Leadership Council’ and ‘National Service Learning Clearinghouse’ that incorporate government agenda and policies into their programs. In this way, these organisations play a key role in disseminating these messages to the wider population, i.e., practitioners of VCS such as the youths and teachers in America.

Other means of keeping the public connected with the government programs come in the form of recognitions and awards. For example, the ‘President’s Volunteer Service Award’ is an initiative of the ‘President’s Council on Service and Civic Participation’ in conjunction with the ‘Corporation for National and Community Service’ and the USA Freedom Corps and is administered by the ‘Points of Light Foundation’ and ‘Volunteer Centre National Network’.

In order to encourage and recognize outstanding volunteer service and inspire others to volunteer, the President's Council on Service and Civic Participation created the President's Volunteer Service Award. These Awards will honor those Americans who have made serving a central part of their lives and show that when you help your neighbor, you are helping your nation... Awards are given to youths ages 14 and under who have completed 50 or more hours of volunteer service; Lifetime Achievement is recognized with a special President's Call to Service Award, which honors those who have served 4000 hours' ... (Points of Light Foundation, <http://www.pointsoflight.org>)

The volunteers' bio-data and description of their efforts, hours they have contributed, etc. can be found at POL homepage. This comes with the message that each volunteer is met by President Bush and to honour their efforts, the certificates are awarded by him personally. Volunteerism is estimated in terms of the hours to meet Bush's call for service that specifies 4,000 hours or two years of their lives (discussed in Chapter 6), and today this is an important feature of the practice of VCS.⁹

At the grassroots level in many schools, service hours are now a requirement for graduation. At Rosberg High, for example, the students need to complete 45 hours of service in order to graduate. Besides their academic achievements, the service hours and projects get serious consideration from university selection committees and scholarship and award funding bodies. The success of service projects at high school is acknowledged by funding bodies as a reflection of the students' achievements, skills and character. In this way, student engagement in community service is a major component in educational establishments, and

⁹ Volunteers can find opportunities, keep a 'Record of Service' (a private journal of volunteer time and experiences), get updated news on the activities and programs of Peace Corps, Senior Corps, Learn and Serve America, etc. To date, 676,353 awards have been given to volunteers, better known as The President's Volunteer Service Awards.

specifically in independent schools such as the Rosberg High. Today, voluntary service is based on more than compassion as it can be largely dictated by one's educational and career ambitions. The countless benefits make the engagement in service a very worthwhile activity for the service providers.

In this section, I have provided a general overview of the service community and its network that interface government and society, thus illustrating the social structure that underlies this practice. I also showed some features of intertextuality that illustrate how the Bush government's agenda is transformed/recontextualised as conference themes. In the following sections, I undertake analyses of some examples of texts from the service community to uncover the different discourses that are employed by some of these actors/organisations and how they are linked to each other not just through the national network, but also through their representations/discourses.

In using the case study material as examples to illustrate how government ideology permeates societal practices, my analyses in Section 8.3 involves the student-volunteers from Rosberg High. Here I uncover their representations, positioning of actors, social roles and relations with each other. This is followed by my analysis of the representations of their SL teacher cum director in Section 8.4. In Section 8.5, I investigate the representations of a national figure – an SL trainer/teacher educator who is part of another government organisation, i.e., the National Service Learning Youth Council. In Section 8.6, I look at two community

partners to consider their representations of VCS, while the POL foundation's mission statement is the object for analysis in Section 8.7.

My analyses of the POL foundation and the national trainer represent the macro level organisations that interface government and society via VCS, while the analyses of the discourses of the students, teacher and community partners represent the micro-level service practitioners. This will conclude my aim of bringing together the macro and micro level organisations under the USA Freedom Corps, to support my argument that all these organisations are part of Bush's 'governance through community' for the administration of individuals and collective existence. I end the chapter in Section 8.8, with a summary and conclusions to suggest how the social practice of VCS in contemporary America is a hegemonic practice for the regulation and control of the conduct of the people.

8.3 Student-Volunteers: Developing the Self Through VCS

My analysis in this section investigates the discourses of the student-volunteers at Rosberg High School. As part of Learn and Serve America, schools such as the Rosberg High make voluntary service a requirement for graduation, i.e., these students are required to complete a minimum of 45 hours. The students' hours are part of Bush's campaign. As stated in the Guidebook of Students in Service to America:

A young person who participates in a well-designed service program in every grade of elementary and secondary school, for example, could accumulate

approximately 800 hours by high school graduation.
(<http://www.studentsinservicetoamerica.org/guidebook/foster.html>)

If before September 11 the students' involvement was part of Learn and Serve America's aim "to provide young people with opportunities to serve America", today this goal has been recontextualised in relation to September 11 and in compliance with the goals of Bush's USA Freedom Corps. Under the USA Initiative, the program is said to offer "Americans the opportunity to respond to the tragedy in a uniquely American way – volunteering to rebuild and revitalize communities in memory of those who lost their lives on September 11, 2001" (<http://www.studentsinservicetoamerica.org/guidebook/foster.html>).

Their service activities can be within the school such as tutoring younger students or involve 'Communities in Need' such as care homes for the elderly. Part of the program involves the recruitment of the students by volunteer agencies (also known as the 'Community Partners') such as Rebuilding Together (an agency that engages volunteers in home repairs of retired homeowners; this organisation is discussed in Section 8.5 as one of the actors that link government ideology to volunteers). There are two sets of data in this section: (i) Mrs C's (the SL Director/teacher at Rosberg High) report of the students' involvement in service, which is based on the students' representation of their service experience (known as 'reflection' in SL and is discussed in more detail in the next subsection); and (ii) an informal interview with a senior student-volunteer (aged 17) about his projects and involvement in voluntary service.

8.3.1 Rebuilding Together Mr McClellan's Home and Life

I enjoyed helping an underprivileged family and have fun. I observed an old somewhat run-down house, which needed a lot of effort and work put into it. I learned to be fortunate and thankful for what I have and that there are less fortunate people who need others help. I will remember the look of joy on the man's face for the way we all helped and worked together. (Laura, Rosberg High School, 2004)

The quote above is an example of the reflections of one of the volunteers, Laura (aged 14, from the freshmen class of 36 students) who was involved in a Rebuilding Together project in 2004. The quote is part of the report by Mrs C (the SL Director/teacher) in which she records the students' reflections and the hours they have completed (see Laura (2.), in Appendix 5: Rebuilding Together Mr McClellan's Home Report). Her report is based on the students' written account of their service involvement. At Rosberg, after each service activity, the students are given a standard form to complete. This form has three statements, e.g., '*Something I observed*', '*Something I learned from the experience*', '*Something I am thankful for*' that aim to elicit information about the students' involvement in the project. This makes up the reflective component of the Rosberg's SL pedagogy. The students' answers are therefore based on these three statements. The answers are then compiled by Mrs C as part of her report of their service experience, hours, etc (see Appendix 5: Rebuilding Together Project Report).^{10 11} Form 1 shows the reflection task sheet that was used during this project.

¹⁰ The project is part of the Rebuilding Together organisation's community development program. This program involves retired homeowners who need repairs done on their homes, but can't afford to do so themselves. Thus they make a formal application to the organisation, who then brings in volunteers from corporations, offices, schools, universities, etc. These volunteers spend 1-3 weekends doing the home-repairs as part of their own community development projects.

Form 1: Reflection Task sheet

<p>Required Written Demonstration of Project Reflection</p> <p><u>Reflection</u>: Complete the following: Choose a medium you consider desirable to demonstrate your reflection to the Service Learning Committee</p> <p>Student's Name and Project:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Something I observed:2. Something I learned from this experience:3. Something I am thankful for:
--

Here I use this report as the main material for my analysis. The purpose of the analysis in this section is to illustrate how the students' accounts of their service experience help to construct an ongoing narrative of self. I locate the different discourses that they use to construct their self-identity. For the analysis, I have numbered the students as 1-36 (see Appendix 5), and approached the data by doing a content analysis of their reflective accounts (in Mrs C's report) to group the answers into main themes.

In general there are three main themes that I have identified, namely, 'working together', 'fun', and 'discovering the self'. I have coded these themes in the following way in Appendix 5: the theme of 'working together' is underlined; '**fun**' is in bold letters and '**discovering the self**' is in bold letters and underlined.

¹¹ During this particular project, the students, two teachers and some of their parents helped with the redecorating of Mr McClellan's home, an old war veteran who is disabled and lives with his wife. Mr McClellan¹¹ was identified by Rebuilding Together, the volunteer agency that engaged the Rosberg team for this project.

- **Volunteerism as working together**

The dominant theme in the students' reflections is the concept of 'working together' or 'teamwork'. 83% of the students (30 out of 36 students) used phrases such as '*working together*', '*caring together*', '*uniting*', '*teamwork*', '*working as a team*', '*a group of people come together*', '*people working hard*', '*a lot of people donating their time together*', etc (in the following examples, the phrases that construct 'working together' are underlined).

4. Andrea: I worked to make the house safer and more presentable for the homeowners. I observed that people work together, which made projects go by much faster. I learned about home renovation and about the community which we worked in.

9. David: I helped change completely this man's house and his life. ...I observed that this man and his family were in dire need of help and when we worked together, we made his life happier.

11. Maggie: I think we will be able to improve this man's life style by changing his house. The house was in a better condition than yesterday, however it will still need more improvement to change this man's life. I observed that the man lives a whole different life style than we do, and that without our help he could not have cleaned his house. I will remember how everyone, no matter what grade they are in, worked together just to change someone's life

In these examples, the students claim that they have not only improved Mr McClellan's home (e.g. Andrea – '*I worked to make the house safer and more presentable for the homeowners* ') but also his life (e.g. David – '*I helped change completely this man's house and his life* '). In this way, they foreground more of the activities of the volunteers, i.e., their ability to work as a team, unite, etc. 'Helping or working together' not only focuses on the volunteers, it also constructs the picture of

a caring society as it draws upon ‘a communitarian discourse’ that situates VCS as the collective action of the people who have come together to help and change someone’s life. For this purpose, the volunteers are constructed as those with agency – as they help, work, build, clean, etc. the home, as well as change the lives of those in poverty. On the other hand, Mr McClellan is described as being ‘*grateful*’, ‘*happy*’, ‘*smiling*’ and ‘*thankful*’ for the help that he is being given. This passivates the recipients of service, i.e., Mr McClellan and his wife (e.g. Maggie (11): ‘*I will remember how happy the man is now that he sees how big of a difference the house looks*’, see Appendix 5).

- **Volunteerism as fun**

‘The communitarian discourse’ is also used to represent volunteerism as fun and enjoyable. Helping others as ‘fun’ is interrelated to the concept of a caring society. 64 % of the students (23 out of 36 students) said that they were having fun or that helping those in poverty was enjoyable for them. It is stated as their main reason for engaging in voluntary service (in the examples below, the phrases that construct ‘fun’ are in bold letters).

2. Laura: **I enjoyed helping** *an underprivileged family* and **had fun**.

5. Evan: I will remember **how much fun I actually had**, how a group of people with set goals can completely change someone’s life.

9. David: **I had fun** improving his life and family house and made it livable for them.

10. Mathew: **I will remember how I actually had fun painting** and moving furniture. If **it was just fun for me**, it was his life for him, I felt great.

The quote used in the start of this section illustrates the students' general comments about volunteerism as fun: '*I expect to enjoy helping an underprivileged family and have fun*'. Here the phrases '*I ... enjoy helping*' and '*have fun*' draw upon a 'discourse of fun' that constructs volunteerism as 'helping' but enjoyable/fun at the same time. Thus, 'the communitarian discourse' incurs 'a discourse of fun' that foregrounds the idea of collective action as being enjoyable. This constructs volunteerism as a fun-filled activity and helps to foreground (Van Leeuwen, 1996) more of the volunteers and their activities of performing service.

- **Discovering the self through service**

Besides constructing service/volunteerism as working together and fun, the students also relate the service experience to a more personal level, i.e., the understanding of self. The following are two good examples that illustrate this point:

19. Johnson: **I discovered myself.... I learned that I have such a wonderful life and am thankful for that.**

27. Martin: **I discovered myself through this experience, I learned to be thankful for my life.**

(In these quotes above, the phrases that construct this theme are in bold letters and underlined.) Both Johnson and Martin have described their service experience as having helped them to 'discover' themselves, and this relates to their own privileged lives for which they are thankful. 64% (23 out of 36) of the students stated that they are 'thankful' or 'lucky' for the lives they have and this is said in comparison to the life of Mr McClellan. The following examples further support my argument.

1. Amelia: I learned that there are *less-fortunate people* in Oklahoma City that really appreciate the help of Rosberg students. **I learned to be thankful for what I have.**

2. Laura: **I learned to be fortunate and thankful for what I have** and that there are *less fortunate people* who need others help.

35. Amri: I helped a member of my community with his problems and to improve his life. I observed that his house was infested with stuff, random useless stuff. It was dirty and unsanitary as well. Things were filthy and seemingly unusable. **It made me extremely thankful for what I have. I was so fortunate and there are so many things I take for granted. It made me feel absolutely blessed.**

36. John: I learned that when you do a project like this, you aren't just doing service. **It taught me about life and how fortunate I am here at Rosberg to have an awesome education and environment.**

In all four examples, the students have referred to their own lives as better in terms of their material well-being and lifestyle, e.g. through use of lexis/phrases such as '*thankful*', '*lucky*', '*fortunate*', '*absolutely blessed*' for '*what I have*'. In comparison, Mr McClellan's life is described through his lack of material wealth (e.g. Mathew (10) – '*I helped and made their house look better than ever. I observed that some people are not as fortunate as some of the Rosberg people and that we actually need to help more often*': see Appendix 5). By defining what they are, they are highlighting what they are not and draw upon an 'us and them' categorisation.

According to Connolly (1989:329), identities of 'us' and 'them' are bound together for the reason that it is not possible to establish one without referring to the other. The students define Mr McClellan and people in poverty through phrases such as '*the less fortunate*', '*those less fortunate*' '*underprivileged family*', '*the needy*', and '*the poor*'. These are forms of 'identification' – the students describe the actor in terms of what he is and not what he does (Van Leeuwen, 1996). Also terms such as '*the poor*' or '*the less fortunate*' 'impersonalise' (Van Leeuwen, 1996) the actors

by leaving out the semantic feature of ‘human’, thereby categorising them through some form of quality that obscures all other aspects about the actor and his life except his state of needing help or being poor. This reinstates his status as being poor which passivises him, and his poverty becomes the focus of reference for the students.

In comparison, it helps the students construct their own identities as belonging in better families and living conditions, all measures in reinstating their middle-class identities. Their reference to Mr McClellan as ‘*underprivileged*’ and ‘*less fortunate*’ or ‘*needy*’ is said in comparison to their own privileged, upper-middle class¹² lives which they are ‘*thankful for*’. When the person being helped is represented as being different from themselves in terms of their social and economic status, it is a measure of constituting the ‘self’. Their use of the ‘us and them’ categorisation helps reinforce their own status and identity. In this case, it is not only a matter of ‘us’ being different from ‘them’, it is also about constructing a self that is better than ‘them’. This helps the students to construct their own status as being privileged, and it leads to self-aggrandisement which in turn helps to reinforce their privileged status and identity. But self-aggrandisement also helps the students to construct a narrative of self in terms of who they are, what they have, how they live, their status, social role, etc., by always focusing on how they are better. And this is evident in my earlier examples of Johnson (19.) and Martin (27.), in which they had stated ‘*I discovered myself*’ ‘*through this experience...I have a wonderful life...*’.

¹² The students, teachers and parents I interviewed and met during my fieldtrips at Rosberg, used the term ‘upper-middle class’ when referring to their status.

In doing so, the students' discourse pertains to elitist attributes based on their positioning of themselves in their social roles as volunteers who help the '*underprivileged*', or '*change lives*'. My view of elitism here is similar to Thurlow and Jaworski's (2006: 102) view that it is a discursively achieved identity and subject position. Elitism according to Thurlow and Jaworski (2006: 102) entails:

a person's orienting (or being oriented) to some ideological reality and/or its discursive representations in order to claim exclusivity and/or superiority on the grounds of knowledge, authenticity, taste,...access to resources, wealth, group membership, or any other quality which warrants the individual to take a higher moral, aesthetic, intellectual, material, etc. ground against 'the masses' or 'the people'.

In this section I have looked at the representations of a group of Rosberg student-volunteers by looking at how they narrate their experience of voluntary service. The three main themes in their accounts have enabled me to identify some of the discourses that they employ, namely, 'the communitarian discourse', 'discourse of fun' and 'elitist discourse'. The communitarian discourse and the discourse of fun help to legitimate the practice of VCS as part of the practices of a caring society and as the collective action of people in helping those in poverty. In this way, VCS is represented as a way of life. These discourses draw upon the concept of 'community' based on the roles and duties as service providers who help and care for the people in poverty. This is similar to Bush's use of the communitarian discourse to represent volunteerism as the collective action of the people that is part of his discourse of welfare reform (and compassionate conservatism, see analyses in Chapter 7). Similarly, the students' accounts of self as better are similar to the elevated positioning of the service providers as better people

by Bush. These are some examples of intertextuality whereby the students' recontextualisation of voluntary service (representations of self) have features of Bush's ideology for welfare reform.

The students' reflections of their own lives involve a kind of discovery of self, whereby the service experience has helped them to look upon their own lives from the perspective of who they are, what they have, how they live, their status, role in society, etc – all aspects which help them construct not only a narrative of self, but a self that is better than those being helped, using the 'us and them' categorisation. In this way, their narrative of the 'self' ascribes to a discourse of elitism. This discourse plays a key role in the students' construction of self-identity. It signifies Giddens' (1991) view about the reflexivity of modernity, of how the self is constructed through an on-going continuous story.

Through a process of self-attribution and positioning of individuals, the students construct a biography of 'self' through 'an elitist discourse', which gives them agency and helps to position themselves as better people in society who have been called to bring back social order. They describe their contributions as not just doing home renovations, but also improving or changing Mr McClellan's life (e.g. Evan (5.) – *I...that can completely better and change someone's life*). In this sense, their service experience is constructed as some form of heroic act of saving or changing lives which helps them to identify themselves as special people who help the community. And by focusing more on their own contributions, their representations lead to self-aggrandisement. Self-aggrandisement is evident in the

students' assertion that they feel good about themselves and their lives, which is always said in comparison to the lives of those they are helping.

For the Rosberg students, their service experience and the reflective task of SL pedagogy enables them to connect their own lives to the external world through their roles as service providers. By providing an account of their involvement in service, the students are able to construct a narrative of self that builds on their construction of elite identities. The elitist discourse when embedded within a conflation of 'the communitarian discourse' and 'discourse of fun' foregrounds volunteerism as the activity of a caring society in which both the volunteers (having fun/are happy) and the recipients of service are in equal relationships, e.g. '*... I will remember the happiness on the man's face...I saw how happy we made Mr Mac*' (see following example, Augie (12)).

12. Augie: I learned how much better Mr. McClellan's life is going to be when we finish fixing his house. I will remember the happiness on the man's face from my help. I learned when I saw how happy we made Mr. Mac and how much he appreciated us; donating your time make you feel better about yourself.

The students ascribe to elitist attributes and use the 'us and them' categorisation that divides and creates social hierarchies, but their use of the communitarian discourse which implies equal relationships helps to naturalise hierarchies and asymmetrical power relations. In general, the three discourses help to define VCS as a way of life, or in other words, as a lifestyle option. Lifestyle here signifies group-specific forms of how individuals live and interpret their lives in a social context. To be more precise, it is an option made available to the middle class

through their social roles as the service providers and by portraying service as their contribution to society.

8.3.2 Being Role Models for Underprivileged Kids

The best thing for them is to see they have someone there that they can work with and talk to and we're all, everyone doing this project is told that we're all role models because the kids really look up to them, so we're positive role models for them so they can follow us and be good like us.
(John S, Senior Rosberg High 2004)

The material for this section comes from an interview I conducted with John S – a senior (aged 17) who has been involved with the Rosberg Service Learning (SL) Projects for 4 years since his first year as a freshman. As a senior (final year in high school), John was leading the freshmen teams (first years, aged 14) by creating new programs or joining them in their SL induction programs. Thus, in this thesis, John represents the larger student population at Rosberg who have been in long-term sustained involvement in service. The purpose of the analyses in this section is to show: (i) how John's narrative of the service experience compares to the students' accounts in the previous section; (ii) how longer term involvement plays a key role in further enhancing their elitist identity; and (iii) how ingroup relations and other actors also play a role in sustaining and reinforcing the elitist identity of the students.

At Rosberg, the trip to the Club is part of the induction to SL for the freshman class. Every year in November, Mrs C, the Rosberg SL Director/teacher, takes the freshmen groups to spend 5 afternoons at the Club. Thus, for everyday of that week, a new group of students spend 3 hours doing some kind activity with the kids at the Club. This particular interview was conducted after John's return from

one of the site visits to the First Boys and Girls Club,¹³ an after-school program for kids from the ages of 5 to 17. The interview was an informal chat and can be divided into two parts based on John's account. In the earlier part (lines 1-53) he talks about his own involvement in the project and what they have been doing at the Club. My analysis focuses on lines 53 onwards, where he talks about the kids at the Club and his role as a team leader, his perceptions of the service recipients, and the Rosberg students' part in helping the kids at the Club. (In the interview transcript, SS refers to me, the interviewer, and JS to the interviewee. The full transcript is provided as Appendix 6).

In general, John's account of his service experience is similar to the reflective accounts by the students in the previous section as he draws upon the three main themes of 'working together', 'fun' and 'being thankful/discovering self'. In addition, he provides a more substantial 'story' of self that reinforces the elite identity of the students. John's narration also shows evidence of the role that SL teachers/trainers play in shaping and influencing the representations/discourses of the students. Thus, John draws upon the three main discourses of communitarian, fun and elitism to represent his service experience.

For example in Extract 1 (lines 199-211), all three themes are evident. Here I asked John what the Rosberg students get out of their visits to the Club.

¹³ The members of staff I spoke to at the Club told me that the kids who use the facilities at the Club are mostly from families with both/ single parents working two or three jobs (minimum wages). Thus the kids come to the Club after school and get their meals and help with homework from the staff. These kids can also play games and use other facilities, watch television etc. at the Club. The members of staff themselves are part of the Big Brothers and Sisters of America program, that tutors and mentors younger children to help them stay away from drugs, crime, and gangs, while at the same time aiming to get the kids to stay on at school.

Extract 1

- 198 SS: What do they get out of it?
199 JS: For me it's just a funtime, I mean I have fun helping other people,
200 hanging out with kids that don't really have any one else, it is just fun for
201 me. Cause it is fun to see how happy those kids at the Club are, and that
202 makes me happy to see their face. So hopefully the freshmen will get an
203 understanding about the kids, there are people out there who don't have
204 as much as we do, cause we are kind of sheltered in our gates. You
205 could say, we are the privileged ones, with all that we have to be thankful
206 for I guess. So hopefully they'll know that there are people out there that
207 need our help and real problems and stuff that we can solve. Last year
208 every one filled out reflection sheets and last year they said that they did
209 not know that there were people like that out there, they could, they
210 really just needed someone they could hang out with, they learned about
211 the community. That is why I started this project again.

In lines 199-202, he describes spending time at the centre with the kids as '*a fun time*', and that '*helping other people*' '*is just fun for me*'; it has made him '*happy*' to see that his help has made the children '*happy*'. His way of describing service as fun and enjoyable reasserts the picture of the caring society vis-à-vis a communitarian discourse. In lines 202-206, there is also an emphasis on the differences between 'us' and 'them'. He says that he hopes the freshmen team will realise '*there are people out there*' who are different from 'us'. He describes the kids from the centre as '*people out there who don't have as much as we do*' (lines 203-204), thereby distinguishing the kids as the outgroup – as being different from him and his Rosberg team, which is the ingroup. This distinction is made in terms of the material wealth, education and lifestyle of the ingroup, evident here in his reference to the Rosberg students as '*sheltered in our gates*' (line 204) in contrast to the reality of the '*people out there*', which he describes as having '*real problems and stuff that we can solve*' (lines 206-207).

In comparing their lifestyles, he also expresses his gratitude for the life that he has. In doing so, he labels his group as '*the privileged ones*' (line 205), implying also that the kids at the centre are underprivileged. This attributes the elitist identity to 'us'/ ingroup. Further on in lines 206-211 (Extract 1, above), John portrays himself and his team-mates as the active agents who can solve the problems of the people out there ('...*there are people out there that need our help and real problems and stuff that we can solve.*' lines 206-207). This implies that they are the special people who can help to maintain the social order of society.

In Extract 2 (lines 212- 215), I further probed into his categorisation of the kids at the Club as '*people out there*'.

Extract 2

212 SS: What kind of people out there?
213 JS: You know not as privileged or fortunate like us. I think it's really taught us
214 to be thankful for what we have and our parents are great people. Thank
215 God for that.

Here, once again, John uses the 'us and them' distinction to define 'us' as being '*privileged*' and '*fortunate*' and '*our parents are great people*' (lines 213-214), which helps him to construct a narrative of who he is in terms of his family, status, background and his privileged middle class identity, i.e., elitist identity. In contrast, John blames the kids' parents for not being there for them. This is apparent in Extract 3 (lines 64-67) where I asked him why the kids need to be at the Club. While he blames their parents, his answer shows his preoccupation with what the Rosberg team are doing for these kids.

Extract 3

- 64 SS: What do you think JS, these kids why are they here and not at home?
65 JS: I guess this comes from their parents, they are not there. I guess we're
66 really trying to help them, make sure they stay in school and make sure
67 they get a good education and so we help them with their homework and
68 encourage them so that if they stay in school, they'll get a good job and
69 maybe they can turn around and help their community with like what we
70 are doing. So our overall goal of this is to get our kids at Rosberg, the
71 ninth graders to get through these projects and maybe create new
72 projects that will carry on.

This foregrounds their voluntary activities rather than the personal circumstances of the kids (at the Club), their background or even the fact that their parents are not there because they have to hold two or three jobs to sustain their family. His focus on their contribution once again helps him to construct his team as the good people who help others. John's claims seem a little exaggerated in that he portrays their contribution as leading to long term changes in the kids' lives even though the Rosberg team only spends 15 hours a year with the kids at the Club. His claims that they are helping to '*make sure they get a good education....so that they'll stay in school, they'll get a good job...*' (lines 66-69) seem more like self aggrandisement that helps to elevate the status of the Rosberg team further. This form of self-aggrandisement is present throughout his narrative. For example, besides referring to 'us' as the privileged class, he depicts the Rosberg team as '*good role models*' for the children at the Club (see Extract 4, lines 105-117).

Extract 4

- 105 SS: What do you think is the best thing for them out of this project?
106 JS: The best thing for them is to see they have someone there that they can
107 work with and talk to and we're all, everyone doing this project is told that
108 we're all role models because the kids really look up to them, so we're
109 positive role models for them so they can follow us and be good like us.
110 SS: Who told you that you are role models?
111 JS: Mrs C.

112 SS: In what way are you role models?
 113 JS: In every way, education like we are going to be in college someday. We
 114 help them with their homework and they see how we are, see how we
 115 work hard at school and that we can even help other people, like them
 116 and despite that we can also have fun and we hang out with the kids and
 117 talk to them.

Here my question to John was about the kids at the Club and if or how they are benefiting from the Rosberg team's service. But John's answer once again focuses more on his team rather than the kids, where he represents his team as '*positive role models*' (lines 108-109). In doing so, John is able to position his team as people of exalted virtues, e.g., '*the kids really look up to them...so they can follow us and be good like us*' lines 108- 109). In lines 113-117, he explains what he means by '*good role models*' with more positive comments about the Rosberg team's lifestyle, background, education, etc. ('*they see how we are, see how we work hard at school...help other people, like them...*' lines 114-117; see also lines 177-188, in Appendix 6, for more on 'good and bad role models'), all the time ascribing to elitist attributes.

John's biography of self also illustrates another point – that the students are performing (Butler, 1990), i.e., when the students are providing service, they are conscious of how they act, talk, behave, dress, which are all an important part of who they are as service providers and more specifically as '*positive role models*' (see lines 113-117, Extract 4). In this sense, they are projecting an identity (Carlson, 1996). I did ask John for further clarifications about what '*good role models*' do. In Extract 5 (lines 172-176), John explains that what they wear and how they act are all part of their 'performance' as the '*good role model*'.

Extract 5

- 172 SS: What do you do as a role model, how do you act as role model, portray
173 yourselves as role models, do u put on certain kind of clothes etc?
174 JS: (laughs) We do, we clothes, okay we wear uniforms, dress code, collared
175 shirts and khaki shorts or trousers but then you can be a good role
176 model or a bad role model.

In lines 107-108, John mentions that '*everyone doing this project is told that we're all role models because the kids can look up to them*', and further on when I ask who has told them, he confirms that it is their SL teacher, Mrs C. And further on in lines 113-117 (Appendix 6), he explains what good role models are with reference to what they (the Rosberg students) are expected to be. This supports my claim that the teachers play a key role in the students' construction of elite identity. (This point will be discussed in more detail in the next section.) He represents the lives of the Rosberg students in a sanitised or idealised way. In Extract 6 (lines 134-145), I ask him what he knows about the kids at the Club in terms of their home environment.

Extract 6

- 134 SS: What is the home environment for the kids, you think?
135 JS: A lot of times it's not very good but sometimes, the parents don't always
136 come home. A lot of the kids have to do stuff by themselves, like make
137 their own foods, cook and stuff. They have a house but they don't have a
138 place to go to after school. The neighbourhood, that is not safe and to
139 hang out with older kids who are not very good for them like gangs and
140 stuff, so we give them that safe haven for them, and they get a chance to
141 hang out with us.
142 SS: Do you think you have gangs at Rosberg?
143 JS: No, there are no gangs, pretty positive about that.
144 SS: You sound very sure. Why do you think there are no gangs in Rosberg?
145 JS: Our background is different, well-off families, private schools all our lives.

In lines 135-136, there is the 'soft blame' on the parents of the kids for not being there. He describes the kids as coming from bad neighbourhoods with gangs. He immediately once again shifts the focus on what is being given to these kids at the Club. He uses the exclusive 'we' to refer to his team and the staff at the Club,

(*'we give them that safe haven for them, and they get a chance to hang out with us'* lines 140-141). This gives his ingroup agency over those being helped to depict his team as the good volunteers. In lines 143-145, he also refers to their social status and exclusive lives in order to define 'gangs' as something associated with poverty (*'No there are no gangs, pretty positive about that...Our background is different, well-off families, privates schools all our lives'*). In this way, John's narration involves a continuous 'storying' of the Rosberg students' lives in comparison to his perceptions of the kids at the Club, which helps to build the ingroup identity as being superior in every way. And this superiority is mainly based on what they have and what the other does not. A good example is Extract 7 (lines 118-122). Here I asked John how the kids were performing at school.

Extract 7

- 118 SS: Do you think they're doing well in school?
 119 JS: The kids I think they are, they're really smart kids, I was really surprised.
 120 SS: Why were you surprised?
 121 JS: You know being poor, coming from families like that, they their parents
 122 are not there.

In line 119, John voices his surprise that the kids at the centre are smart, which according to him is not something he would associate with poverty or with the kids' family background. This undermines the kids' abilities to perform like every other child, and they are constantly reduced and identified through their state of being poor. This is a form of 'identification' (Van Leeuwen, 1995) that categorises the kids in terms of what they are (they are poor) rather than what they do. It is similar to the representations of Mr McClellan by the freshmen team who focused more on his poverty. In contrast, by focusing on what the Rosberg team does

through their roles as volunteers, John 'functionalises' (Van Leeuwen, 1996) them. In this way, while the service experience helps him to construct a biography of an elite self, indirectly it also leads to stereotypical representations of people in poverty as being involved in gangs and crime or belonging in bad neighbourhoods. He once again blames the parents for not being there for the kids. He does not, however, consider why the parents are holding two or three jobs, or that they are the 'working poor' (Shipler, 2005; see discussion in Chapter 4).

In sum, John also draws upon the discourses of communitarian, fun and elitism to construct his identity and that of his ingroup. In this way, these discourses have been recontextualised into his 'story' of self. His narrative of self and his ingroup is an extensive account whereby his sustained longer term involvement in service has played a big role in his construction of self and others (his ingroup). The service experience is more about the volunteers rather than the people in poverty. By depicting themselves as exemplary teenagers, John defines the ingroup as the good people who help others who are less fortunate, which asserts volunteerism as a lifestyle option for the middle classes, and a way of life. Using the 'us and them' categorisation, their own lives are described as privileged and exclusive, while the kids from the Club are 'bothered' and identified as belonging in bad neighbourhoods with dysfunctional families. This helps to position the Rosberg kids as superior and elite.

8.4 SL Teacher: Styling the Discourses of Student-Volunteers

I will always remember Mr McClellan's words with tears in his eyes: "I love these kids, their parents did something right in raising them. I will never have enough money to pay them for what they have done for me. Thank you. (Mrs C, SL Teacher/ Director, Rosberg High)

In the previous sections, I looked at the representations of the Rosberg student-volunteers. In the first part, my analysis was based on their written reflections, and in the second part, I looked at the narrative by John S in which he described his service experiences. An important facet of identity construction that surfaced in John's account of VCS is the idea of performance and styling – '*...we are positive role models for them...*'. In this section, I look at some examples of the representations of the Rosberg's SL teacher-cum-director, Mrs C. The purpose of my analysis is to demonstrate how Mrs C plays a key role in shaping the students' construction of the elite 'self'. The students' accounts of their service experience followed the three statements stated below (see Form 1: Reflection Tasksheet Section 8.3.1).

1. Something I observed
2. Something I learned from this experience
3. Something I am thankful for

This is an example of the structured reflection task used for the 'Rebuilding Together Mr McClellan's home' project discussed in the earlier section. The structured reflection task helps to guide the students to think about their service

experience within this framework. In this way, they are also guided to construct and experience reality within this framework. Each of the statements directs the students to focus on themselves: *'Something I observed, ...I learned, and ... I am thankful for'*. We saw that the students had followed the structure of the statements in their reflections, e.g., *'I learned to be fortunate and thankful for...'* and their accounts had been mainly about themselves – for their construction of the 'self'. We also saw a similar account from John S in the narration of his service experience whereby there was more focus on the role/s of the volunteers rather than of those they helped. The reflective component of the SL pedagogy, the structured reflection task, thus is a kind of styling of talk (the discourse of the students) as it functions to align the students to think, act, speak, behave, etc. in certain acceptable ways. And it reflects Giddens' (1991) view that through repetition and routinisation, such kinds of stylised talk became habituated as an extensive narrative of self as well as a lifestyle. In the case of the Rosberg students, the structured reflections act as tools to 'style' the students' discourse through the SL experience.

But besides the structured reflections, the teacher's own discourse such as the talk in class, or the materials used to give instructions, etc also play a part in the process of constructing elite identity. I use the following examples to illustrate this point (see Example 1: Parental Permission Form; and Example 2: 'Toy Drive' Instructions). In the 'Parental Permission Form' (Example 1) and the instructions for a 'Toy Drive' (Example 2), Mrs C refers to those being served as *'needy Latino children'* (Example 1) or *'needy Latino kids'* (Example 2). The adjective *'needy'* is a term that identifies the children as those in poverty and somewhat dependent upon

people like the Rosberg community's generosity. 'Latino' is also a form of 'identification' (Van Leeuwen, 1996) which is an impersonal reference that distances the group to differentiate 'us' from 'them'.

Example 1: Parental Permission Form

<p>Please cut this frame and return to Mrs Croydon Parental Permission</p> <p>My child,, has my permission to participate in the following Service-Learning Project:</p> <p>The Nutcracker Ballet Experience, Saturday, December 11, 2004 from 10.20 am to 5.15 pm.</p> <p>The Rosberg students will provide an introduction to ballet, then Ballet Oklahoma and the Rosberg students will take needy Latino children to the Civic Center where the Nutcracker will be performed.</p> <p>This would be a great experience to help others less fortunate than ourselves.</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Signature of Parent/ Guardian</p>
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Example 2: 'Toy Drive' Instructions

<p>Toy Drive Toys for needy Latino kids</p> <p>Age: Newborns – 11 year olds</p> <p>Need 100 volunteers: For decorating, balloon blowing, registration, foods, gifts, take photographs, set up chairs.</p> <p>Toys to be in by: 10th December</p> <p>Need volunteers on December 13 -17th for sorting toys</p> <p>Our emphasis is on older kids and infants Meeting: Dec. 2 @ 3pm</p>

Further evidence can be seen in the 'Parental Permission Form' (Example 1), whereby the experience is described as '*a great experience to help others less*

fortunate than ourselves'. This statement highlights what we are in terms of the better lives 'we' have (*'ourselves'*), in comparison to what the 'other' lacks. Here 'we' are defined as better (privileged) than 'them'. These examples also background all other features about the children, which passivates and treats them as objects or beneficiaries of the help being given to them. The Rosberg students are 'functionalised' (Van Leeuwen, 1996) in terms of what they do, e.g. they '*will provide*', '*will take*' (Example 1), giving them agency, while those being helped are 'passivised' or 'beneficialised' (Van Leeuwen, 1996). Their roles as volunteers construct the Rosberg community as those who help or do something for '*needy kids*', in this way constructing VCS as the action of a caring society. This incurs the communitarian discourse.

Such representations that position the volunteers as 'privileged' and the 'Other' as different in social and economic status were also evident in the students' (freshmen team and John S) discourse in the previous sections using the 'us and them' categorisation. This ascribes elitist attributes to the Rosberg team. In this process, Mrs C is an important part of the students' service experience, and in their construction of their elite identity. She is their direct link to voluntary service at Rosberg. In this way, Mrs C not only directs, plans and structures the students' service projects but, through her representations of VCS, also influences their representations of VCS. However, she is only one of the many others who inform, shape and influence the students' discourses. In the following section, I explore another actor who is closely linked to the students – a national Service Learning Trainer and teacher.

8.5 National SL Trainer/Teacher: Speaking for the Government

But, I want them to feel that it is their responsibility that it is something we do, not only because we feel good, that you get paid, or because somebody told you, but you did because you begin to feel, your role, your commitments to your fellow Americans and that is very personal. And for me that's what I want the kids to get from my programs and for my teachers to get that across.
(Carol P, National SL Teacher/ Trainer)

In this section, the main material for analysis is an interview I conducted with Carol P,¹⁴ a prominent national figure who works with teachers and students across America. She is part of the National Service Learning Council (NSLC) and Learn and Serve America that are affiliated to the USA Freedom Corps. In this study, I position her through her dual role – as an SL teacher she is part of the micro level service community, but as a national trainer and teacher educator, she is also part of the macro level social structure of VCS through her association with the NSLC and Learn and Serve America. Carol is a crucial part of the community network that liaises between the government and society. My analysis aims to show the intertextual features of Bush's discourses/ideology in Carol's discourses of VCS, and to suggest how national personnel such as Carol play a role in bringing the government's ideology to the everyday practices of the people in society. The analyses will also illustrate Carol's use of similar discourses to that of the students to suggest what this entails.

I met Carol at the 2004 National Service Learning Conference in Long Beach California. The interview is an informal chat that took place after her Introductory Workshop for Teachers of SL. My questions were mainly about her views on SL,

¹⁴ This has been anonymised to protect the identity of the person.

what her role is as a teacher and trainer, etc. Carol went into a lengthy monologue at certain parts of the interview. Her general perceptions guided me in my line of questioning. This interview was part of the final stage of my ethnographic study. In this interview, Carol uses the term '*kids*' to refer to 'students' or 'volunteers'. The full transcript is provided as Appendix 7.

In general, Carol explains that her role is to guide teachers to structure certain elements into the students' service experience. Throughout the interview, she constantly uses the pronoun 'I' or 'we' in an authoritative, or exclusive manner to reinstate the role of teachers like herself and those she trains, in helping to shape and regulate the desired responsible attitude and behaviour of the students, e.g., '*And for me that's what I want the kids to get from my programs and for my teachers to get that across*' (lines 44-45); '*And that's what we want our students to get out of service learning*' (lines 51-52).

I asked Carol about the benefits of SL to the students. In Extract 1 (lines 1-18), Carol explains that the most important aspect of SL is the opportunity which enables students to experience poverty. In lines 8-10, service is represented as a learning opportunity for the students to see poverty first hand which they would otherwise not have a chance to view or experience ('*the transformation that the students go through*' line 4). Poverty is defined as '*something new, something they're not used to*' (lines 4-5), as the harsh features of '*reality*' that '*is not very pretty*' (lines 17-18).

Extract 1

- 1 SS: What do you want the students to get out of their service activity?
2 CP: We're just talking about getting our students to do a good deed,
3 we're not talking about you goin' in there and you fix the
4 problem...and I think the transformation the students go through.
5 They are seeing somethin' new, something they're not used to.
6 You know, parents don't really encourage their children to meet
7 certain kind of people, people who come from a different kind of
8 environment from themselves. And this is what we're giving to our
9 students. A chance to get to know people from a different
10 environment, to get out of their own bubbles. I stress that we do
11 keep our students away from anything we think may be negative
12 for them, but with service learning, they're gettin' a great
13 opportunity to see reality that's out there, and we're always there
14 to keep it safe for them. We're putting our kids in an area in a
15 place they're not comfortable all the time, because these kids who
16 are rich, really don't wanna have to do anything with those
17 people, they really don't, and why is that, because reality is not
18 very nice, it's not pretty.

Here poverty is portrayed not as a social issue, but rather as the '*ugly*' feature of society that exists. Such representations help to normalise poverty as a common feature of society. But defining poverty in this way only contributes to the students' understanding of the 'self' rather than the people in poverty, because Carol clearly distinguishes two groups based mainly on the differences of their environments and lifestyles. The 'kids' (student-volunteers) are identified based on their social and economic status – as living in '*their own bubbles*' (line 10), meaning '*these kids who are rich*' (lines 15-16) who come from comfortable lifestyles, while those in poverty are described as '*people who come from a different environment from themselves*' (lines 7-8). In this way, she distinguishes an 'Other' that is different based primarily on their economic conditions and social environment. She uses negative connotations implying that it is unsafe for the students (lines 6-15), e.g. '*reality is not very nice, is not pretty*' (lines 17-18), '*certain kind of people*' (line 7), and '*those people*' (line 15) when referring to people in poverty. The 'us and them'

demarcation draws upon elitist attributes which reinforce the status of the students as privileged and as better than the people in need.

According to Carol, a key element that is structured into the students' learning is the idea of 'service as fun' (lines 177-182, Extract 2).

Extract 2

177 CP: I think all things I cherish in school are what
178 I enjoyed. So, so get the kids to have fun that way they learn best.
179 They learn about life and what they have and, and they learn to be
180 thankful. They will learn that helping others is fun. And through
181 service learning we want our kids to have fun, enjoy the service,
182 really just have fun doing something for the community.

Service is represented as fun and enjoyable (*'we want our kids to have fun, enjoy the service, really just have fun doing something for the community... helping others is fun..'* lines 178-180). 'Being thankful' for their own lives and their material wealth in comparison to those in need, seems to be another aspect that is incorporated into the learning of the students through service. It seems this is a huge feature of SL as Carol not only mentions this as the motivation for the students (*'They learn about life.. what they have.. they learn to be thankful'* lines 179-180), but also as her own reason for being involved in service (*'I do it because I've been very fortunate in my life and I'm thankful for that'* lines 24-25, Appendix 7).

I also asked her about the 'feel good factor'.¹⁵ In Extract 3 (lines 33-39), Carol explains about the 'feel good factor'.

¹⁵ The 'feel good factor' is something said to be part of the American culture. It was evident the freshmen's reflections earlier, where 6 students mentioned this. But during one of my fieldtrips, at a Learn and Serve America Training Session, the trainer spoke about the importance of the 'feel good

Extract 3

- 33 CP: I just feel that, that aspect is missing hugely. With the kids, when
34 they serve food, or do something for the community, people
35 are nice to them. And they are also thankful to the kids. They hand
36 out a cookie to someone, it really gives the students a good feeling.
37 They know that helping others makes you feel good about
38 yourself. And we want to maintain that feeling, keep it going, that
39 feel good thing that happens inside them.

She affirms that the teachers' role is to maintain the 'feel good factor' in order to help the students to feel good about themselves, through service. When teachers focus on the 'feel good factor' rather than issues pertaining to poverty, or the people in poverty, the 'feel good factor' leads to self-aggrandisement, as the students get an opportunity to position themselves as the good people who help others. Self-aggrandisement is a strategy to reinforce elitist attributes. And closely tied in with the feel good factor is 'us' as 'good role models', which constructs those involved in service as the ingroup. A similar construction of ingroup identity was found in John's narrative.

In Extract 4 (lines 47- 60), Carol answers my question about the concept of 'role model' in SL.

Extract 4

- 46 SS: You mentioned something about being a role model, does that
47 happen with the students as well?
48 CP: I am always a role model for the kids no matter where I am. I am a
49 role model, and I really need to remember that, and I think a lot of
50 adults do that when they have responsibility. And that's how we're
51 trying to connect between youths and adults. And that's what we
52 want our students to get out of service learning, that they need to
53 be good role models for others and to set good examples. Show
54 others to follow in their foot steps. Some of these people they
55 meet, like the kids, they really never had a good role model in their

factor' to sustain student involvement in service. Thus in my interview I asked Carol about the 'feel good factor' to find out how it is connected to long-term service involvement.

56 lives, parents too busy, bad neighbourhoods and it's really our kids
 57 job to try and show them a good way. That they study hard, make
 58 it to college, and still have time to give back to the community,
 59 help others. That's what we want them to be, what this country
 60 needs.

Here Carol describes the concept of 'role model' as something that goes hand in hand with responsibility, good behaviour and characteristics – as a kind of performance expected of the students as well as teachers and adults involved in service (*'Show others to follow in their foot steps. Some of these people they meet, like the kids, they really never had a good role model in their lives, parents too busy, bad neighbourhoods and it's really our kids job to try and show them a good way'* lines 53-57). Using the personal pronoun 'I', she uses herself as an example to declare the importance of such a performance (*'I am a role model for the kids no matter where I am. I am a role model, and I need to remember that...' lines 48-50*). She describes a 'role model' as performing '*for others*', '*to set good examples*', and '*to show others to follow in their foot steps*' (lines 53-54), and in terms of what is expected of the students. In the students' reflections in the earlier section, we saw this as part of their construction of an elite identity and a form of self-aggrandisement. Here, Carol describes it in a positive way and at the same time distinguishes two groups, the ingroup and outgroup.

The ingroup is positioned through the norms associated with being role models. She refers to them as '*our kids*' (line 56) who '*study hard*', '*make it to college, and still have time to... help others; and whose job is to try and show them a good way*' (lines 57-60). A similar definition of role model was also present in John S's narrative in the previous section, '*...they see how we are, see how work*

hard at school and that we can even help other people, like them... ' lines 113-117, Extract 4). This is an example of intertextuality, whereby the definition of 'role model' used by Carol can be said to have been recontextualised as part of the narrative of self of the students, e.g., John S.

The term 'role model' and its definitions involve 'appraisement' (Van Leeuwen, 1996) as they elevate the social and moral standings of the students as those who will maintain the social order in society (*'its really our kids job to try and show them a good way'* lines 56-57). Furthermore they are 'functionalised' (Van Leeuwen, 1996) in terms of their engagement in voluntary service, thereby giving them agency and 'power' over the 'others'. At the same time, those being served are 'othered' as *'some of these people they meet', 'people without good role models',* from *'bad neighbourhoods',* whose *'parents are too busy'* (lines 56-57). These are all forms of 'identification' (Van Leeuwen, 1996) that focus only on what they are or what they are lacking in, e.g., social and economic status. All these elements – the caring society, service as fun, feel good factor, being thankful and good role model, are incorporated into one main theme as the 'American way of life' by Carol in lines 26-32 (see Extract 5).

Extract 5

26 CP: I mean when I'm working with the kids, I'm thinking of, if you
27 belong in this country, you have a responsibility to give and do.
28 That's the way I was raised, that if you are part of this country, you
29 have a responsibility for civic duty. I don't call this civic duty, I
30 just say it's my responsibility for my community, it's my duty to
31 my country, and you need to be doing this. I role-modelled it for
32 my children, just as my mother and father role- modelled it for me.

Carol describes service as the duty, responsibility and obligation of the people to the country – as citizens. In this way, she defines voluntary service as a lifestyle choice of the American people, one that has been determined by tradition, history, culture, values and the principles on which the country has been founded. This draws upon the notion of collective identity, and specifically an American identity. This is evidence of intertextuality, whereby her discourse mirrors Bush's 2001 Inaugural Address in which he used the notions of 'citizens', 'duty', 'responsibility' within the discourses of citizenship and communitarian, to represent voluntary service as the American way of life (discussed in Chapter 5). By situating VCS as the 'American way of life', she reiterates Bush's representations of volunteerism. In her role as a national SL trainer/educator as part of the social structure of VCS under the auspices of the USA Freedom Corps, she plays a key role in structuring the talk of not only the students but also the teachers, e.g., '*That's what we want them to be, what this country needs*' (lines 59-60, Extract 4), and '*And for me that's what I want the kids to get from my programs and for my teachers to get that across*' (lines 44-45). Her close link to the government via the National Service Learning Council and the students and teachers of SL makes her a key personnel of Bush's USA Freedom Corps who brings government ideology closer to the grassroots practitioners of service.

8.6 Constructing and Reinforcing Elite Identity through Community Networks

My analysis of the interview with Carol and the examples from Mrs C illustrate similar phrases or constructions: through a communitarian discourse volunteerism is represented as the acts of a caring society; through an elitist discourse, volunteers are represented as the better people with agency; but through an 'us and them' distinction, those in need are passivated and identified in terms of their poverty. This helps to demarcate 'us' as the ingroup and 'them' as the 'others'. In addition, I found traces of Bush's discourse of citizenship mirrored in Carol's representations of volunteerism as the duties and responsibilities of the American people. This is not surprising as Carol is part of the NSLC which is affiliated with the Corporation for National Community Service, which in turn is part of Learn and Serve America, all of which come under the patronage of the USA Freedom Corps. As a teacher educator, Carol disseminates these representations to teachers who attend her programs, and in this way she is a crucial link between the USA Freedom Corps and the grassroots practitioners of service.¹⁶ In this way, the ideologies of the government trickle down into the practices of the people and come to be shared via the social roles that they are ascribed, and eventually through their discourses.

The communitarian discourse used by the students to construct their narrative of self can be seen to be a part of the broader agenda of the government to construct

¹⁶ This intertextual link was discussed in Section 8.2, where I used the examples of the themes from the National Service Learning conferences that originate from government ideology and agenda, e.g. the 2003 theme was lifted from Bush's 2001 Inaugural Address. Thus, government ideology gets circulated via the conference themes, the Corporation for National and Community Service and teachers/ trainers such as Carol, P.

VCS as a lifestyle choice of a caring society – part of compassionate conservatism’s plans to create a virtuous society, but one that represents the included majority as the better people while those in poverty are described as needing rehabilitation and help form the ‘good American people’ (George W. Bush, Inaugural Address, 2001). The students’ construction of the elite identity, and the teachers’ role in reinforcing the students’ elitist attributes are all part of the government’s ideology of constructing service as the American way of life, and underlying this is the American exceptionalist ideology to position Americans as special people. This also ascribes to elitist attributes.

In their study of elite identity construction in consulting firms, Alvesson and Robertson (2006: 200) explain that an elite identity construction involves both internal and external perceptions. In other words this requires both self-construction and construction by others of self, which they say happens through the ‘dual process of reflecting and mirroring’. This point is evident in SL, whereby through the structured reflection tasks, the students compare their lives with others and in this way reinstate their social and economic status. This also involves positive performative elements such as being on your best behaviour, i.e., good role model, to set good examples for others to follow in their footsteps. In John S’s interview he mentions that the Rosberg kids are told by Mrs C to be ‘role models’ for the kids at the Club. He also explains that to assume the role of a ‘good role model’ they need to behave, dress, act and conduct themselves in certain acceptable ways, especially in front of others. This involves the students’ constant regulation of their own conduct.

The students' structured reflection tasks guide them to 'experience' their service involvement in a certain preferred way, mainly by focusing on themselves. The tasks mediate between the teachers and students. The teachers' own discourses also help in reinforcing the message and align them to certain prescribed and preferred ways of constructing aspects of reality. It builds towards the students' representation of selves, thus aiding in their process of self construction as not only what they perceive themselves to be, but also what they want others to perceive them to be. Thus, elite self-construction does not only involve the 'self', it also involves the social group – those you belong with.

We see features of ingroup construction in the discourse of the students, e.g., when John S says, '*You could say we are the privileged ones*', '*we are role models*', in reference to the collective identity of the Rosberg students as a group that he belongs with. This means that their elite identity is dependent on the confirmation by their group that reflects the elitist attributes. Group affiliation means ensuring normative behaviour in terms of discipline, appearance, language, etc. which is a means of moderating and regulating the self, as anything unacceptable would disrupt group cohesion (Alvesson and Robertson, 2006: 201). This involves performative identity construction. The students perform their roles, through the ways they act, talk, behave etc, in order to reinforce self categorisation, which leads to self identification and ultimately collective group identity. And all these are done by ascribing to elitist attributes.

At this point, I bring into my discussion the role that the other actors play in the students' performative identity construction – those who reinstate the elitist attributes of the students or volunteers. As Alvesson and Robertson (2006: 201) see it, besides the internal self construction of the individual and the reinforcement of elitism by the ingroup, there also needs to be confirmation of elite status by significant others or broader groups. For this purpose, I looked at the teachers and trainers who educate volunteers such as the Rosberg students to demonstrate that their roles and discursive representations help shape and reinforce the elite status of the students. But there are also other actors involved in the process of reinforcing the students' identities as not only moral volunteers but also middle class. Here, I would like to introduce two actors, namely, the community partners and the federal level POL foundation to demonstrate how they play a role in the students' representations of an elitist identity.

8.6.1 Community Partners: Portraying 'The Caring Society'

The Students Against Hunger Food Drive is an easy way to make an investment in Oklahoma's future. Formerly known as the Harvest Food Drive, this event now focuses on our most effective participants: students! In 2003, over 150 schools participated in the drive and collected more than 135,000 pounds of food for Oklahoma's hungry. (Regional Food Bank of Oklahoma)

In this section, my investigation involves looking at the discourses of two of the community partners involved in the Rosberg High's SL activities. They are 'Rebuilding Together OKC' (formerly known as Christmas in April) and 'Regional Food Bank of Oklahoma'. Both organisations engage the Rosberg students as well as students from other schools, corporations, faith-based organisations, federal

agencies, military personnel, etc. in voluntary service. 'Rebuilding Together' is a non-profit organisation involved in home repairs for senior citizens above the age of 60. The 'Oklahoma Regional Food Bank' collects food items such as canned items, vegetables and cooked foods that are donated by schools, kitchens, farmers, factories, etc. and distributes them to food pantries, soup kitchens and emergency shelters around the state.

The purpose of my analysis is to see how these organisations represent service providers and recipients and the discourses they evoke. By looking at their positioning of actors, I hope to show how they play a role in reinforcing the elite identity of the volunteers. My data involves the main text that appeared as a promotional supplement in the local newspaper, *The Oklahoman*, dated 26th September 2004 (See Appendix 8, pages 1-6). For the Regional Food Bank, I look at a pamphlet (Appendix 9: pages 1-4), the 'About' page from the organisation's website (Appendix 10, pages 1-2) and a letter from the organisation to the Rosberg school's SL director, Mrs C (Appendix 11).

I would like to start my analyses in this section, with a brief account of the community partner's visual representations¹⁷ in the printed documents/newspapers that are circulated to the public. There are similarities in the visual images that are found in these documents. The overarching message from the feature story in the newspaper supplement portrays volunteerism in a generalised way as a fun-filled activity of a caring society. Although my analysis will focus mainly on the texts, I

¹⁷ In this thesis, I do not undertake a multimodal analysis of the visual representations. A visual analysis of the images can be carried out following Van Leeuwen's (2008) framework.

would like to briefly use the visual images to show how the picture of a caring society is constructed, and how this entails the community partners' use of 'the discourse of fun' that was evident in the students' and teachers' representations in the earlier sections. This discourse is used here to legitimate the social practice of VCS as a lifestyle choice of the American people.

On pages 1-3 of the newspaper supplement (see Appendix 8: pages 1-2), the main story comes under the heading 'Rebuilding Together' accompanied by some photos illustrating its involvement in home renovations. The images are of volunteers working together redecorating homes (see Images 1 and 2 that follow). In the first image, while the rest of the frame shows volunteers working together, the central figure is the full-length picture of a volunteer carrying a plank, gazing into the camera with a broad smile. While the rest of the images are presented in rectangular frames, the figure of the volunteer is a cut-out image.

Lead
Since 1992, Rebuilding Together OKC - formerly Christmas in April - has repaired more than 700 homes of low-income, elderly homeowners in the metro area at a value to our community of more than \$8 million.



Imagine being 72 years old, having an income of \$1,100 per month and being a widow. You have bills to pay, medical expenses and a house to maintain. It is a difficult choice when it comes down to paying for medicine or home repairs. You are the average client of Rebuilding Together.

BRING YOUR LAWN CHAIR & watch the race!

FREE

REBUILDING TOGETHER INAUGURAL CONSTRUCTION DERBY

PRESENTED BY
THE OKLAHOMAN

COME JOIN THE FUN SUNDAY, OCT. 3
"The Hill" in Deep Deuce
(N.E. 2nd and 51st, east of Bricktown)

THE RACE IS ON
Live Music by Kirby Atkins! Food!
Fun for the Whole Family!
Bring the kids and enjoy a fun-filled block party!

More information page 7

Success Stories ...

He is a decorated Korean War veteran and talks proudly and proudly of serving his country. After the war, he came back, and ran a service station at NE 4th and 10th for many years until that Central Expressway was built. He watched his business slowly fade away. Still, he was able to provide for himself and his family all those years. And, he was on top of things until his wife died. He slowly lost motivation, the house got older, repairs mounted up and it was more than he could handle. At 74, he did a lot of sweating up before we arrived. He wanted to help the team, and did what he was physically able to do. He watched sand mixed with team members as his house was transformed. We painted, replaced rotting siding, installed storm doors, fixed bushes. Suddenly, completely rebuilt the shower/bath plumbing, cleaned out the sewer line and more. He felt like the renovation was one of the nicest things anyone had ever done for him in his life. "Well, I'm just thankful the Lord has you all coming and fixing our house," he said.

She was the victim of a break-in. They took her refrigerator out through the back door, leaving a path of destruction. We made repairs to make her home safe again, including new back steps, handrails, a new front door, and new flooring and painting in her kitchen. We also installed a grab bar in her bathtub.

She is a widow. She needed a roof - which is the case

we've beyond their budget. She found a way to get the roof, and we found a way to make other repairs. At Christmas, she had their "holiday party" at her home and installed shovels where there were bare spots in the back half of her home, installed her grandma's room, and trimmed out the doors. In the morning, another team went to and finished the job. "Each and every one was so great in volunteering your precious time into making our home a 'real' home," John said.

She had done the best they could to take care of their home. With him confined to a wheel chair, it had taken extra wear and tear. The doors were not wide enough for his chair to pass through and the ramp had no handrails. The bathroom was not accessible, and the plumbing did not work properly. We were able to replace the shower door, widen the entrance, clean out the drains, replace the plumbing and add handrails. We also replaced doors, the roof and more. "So ever since they come in and done mine, I pray God gives them all the funding they need 'cause there's so many people out there in need," he said.

CONCRETE
One of our team captains reminds his volunteers that a week or two after the work is completed, "the homeowner has hopefully forgotten our names, but remembered our spirit." They do it not for thanks, but because it is the right thing to do.

We are saving homes and saving lives.

Did You Know?

• The typical Rebuilding Together client is elderly and/or disabled and often has a housing cost burden. One-half of all low-income homeowners have an elderly and/or disabled family member in their home. In most instances, the elderly person is the head of the household. And, 8.8 million homeowners are elderly people living alone, 80% of whom are women—most widows.

• Elderly homeowners have unique physical housing needs—their ability to see clearly, grab door handles, reach for controls, move about the bathroom and negotiate steps, all decline.

• Elderly people are less willing to move despite the physical condition of their home. They prefer to age in their own home unless forced to move by economic conditions or severe health problems.

• Each year, one of three Americans over the age of 65 falls. Injuries are the fifth leading cause of death among people over 65 and two-thirds of injuries are caused by falls. Surveys indicate slipping is a primary cause.

• Oklahoma ranks 13th in the nation in percentage of population 65 and over. By 2020, one in six Oklahomans will be of legal age. The fastest growing segment is 85 and older.

With more than 2,500 volunteers each year, Rebuilding Together OKC now repairs/modifies more than 100 homes a year at no cost to the homeowner.

Image 1 (Page 1): Rebuilding Together

Image 2 shows the double spread layout of pages 2-3 of the story. Similar to Image 1, this image shows volunteers working together on homes. Once again, these are presented in rectangular frames. There is also a much larger, cut-out photo of an elderly gentleman, gazing and smiling into the camera. Here, the image of the elderly gentlemen captures our attention. According to Huxford (2001: 10), lay-out of photos and how they are framed is a significant feature of how stories are told through visual images. When images are presented in rectangular frames, they refer to past events or activities. Cut-out images, on the other hand, are about the present – ‘the here and now’ (Huxford, 2001). Images of the main actors that show them gazing into the cameras establish eye-contact with the reader, thereby bringing them closer to the audience.¹⁸

The visual images used by the Rebuilding Together organisation portray the scenario of a group of people who have come together. This includes the ‘smiling’ volunteer and the elderly gentleman. The images in the rectangular frames showing the volunteers hard at work depict the ‘before’ or the past. On closer inspection, we can see signs of the poor living conditions of the senior citizens, but they are presented as a thing of the past. But the cut-out image of the elderly gentleman (see Image 2) represents the ‘after’ or the present. This illustrates the better living conditions they are in, thanks to the work of the volunteers. Similar images can also

¹⁸ Van Leeuwen's (2008) framework can be used to analyse the social distance and social relation of the actors in the images. For example, the close-ups bring the actors closer to us (the reader). Thus the volunteer and the elderly gentleman are portrayed as one of us. The close-ups also imply the message – ‘you and me working together’, and in this case ‘fighting poverty together’. The close-up shots also involve the actors (both volunteer and elder gentleman) gazing at the reader, which implies an appeal from them, e.g. ‘I need your help’. These images evoke the idea of the ‘caring society’ that helps situate VCS as collective action of the people to help those in poverty (via a communitarian discourse). The images also portray a society whereby both those performing service and receiving are in equal relations. These images help to naturalise power differentials and inequalities.

be seen in the pamphlets of the Regional Food Bank (see Image 3). The image here is of the 'community in need' that is being served by the organisation and shows a woman carrying her child, gazing into the camera with a broad smile.¹⁹

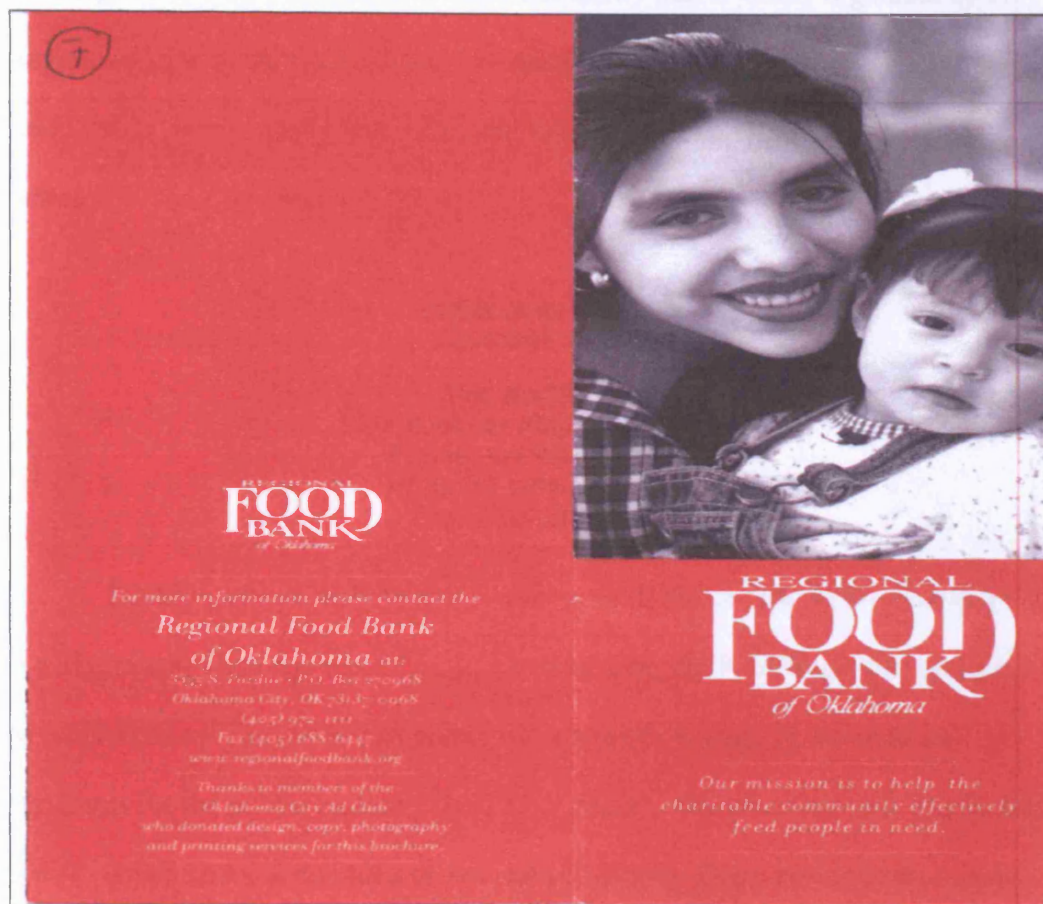


Image 3: Regional Food Bank of Oklahoma

These images 'aesthetize' (Featherstone, 2007) poverty – the images (the well-dressed, smiling elderly gentleman) do not relate the sufferings of the people in poverty. More attention is directed towards the fun that everyone is having while helping the people in poverty, i.e., the people are smiling and working together

¹⁹ This image can be analysed using Van Leeuwen's (2008) category of 'social relation'. This close-up shot of the woman and the baby brings them closer to us, as 'one of us'. Their gaze informs the appeal underlying this image – 'we need your help'. This also draws upon the idea of community and collective action.

which draws upon the discourse of fun. The discourse of fun is also present in other forms. For example, an advertisement entitled ‘Rebuilding Together Inaugural Construction Derby’ is featured in the Oklahoman (see Appendix 8: pages 1-2; also in Images 1 and 2). This advert is about the Derby that is jointly organised by the organisation with the Oklahoman. The dominant idea of ‘fun’ can be seen here. The term ‘FUN’ is repeatedly stated (see the following extract from page 1 of the article).

**COME JOIN THE FUN
SUNDAY OCT. 3**
...
THE RACE IS ON
Live Music by Kinky Slinky! Food!
Fun for the Whole Family!
Bring the kids and enjoy a
fun-filled block party!

It highlights the activity as a family event (*‘Fun for the Whole Family’*) with a party, music, food and more fun. In a similar way, the Food Bank also projects volunteerism as ‘fun’ in its pamphlet (see Appendix 9, page 2). Some of its programs for the public include *‘The Chef’s Feast’*, *‘Balloon Fest’* and *‘Derby Duck Dash’*, which connote this idea of fun and enjoyment. These representations draw upon the concept of ‘communalism’ and of communities’ active involvement to help each other; both organisations construct volunteers as active and dynamic. Both organisations foreground more of the active participation of the volunteers rather than the service recipients and their circumstances. Some examples of the reference to the service providers include terms such as *‘the team/s’*, *‘volunteers’* and with more specific examples that include their professional status as doctors and lawyers (lines 86-89, Extract 1; see also Appendix 8: lines 86-89, page 5: ‘Volunteers’).

These are all nouns which define the volunteers in terms of what they do, which helps to 'functionalise' them.

Extract 1

86 ... Volunteers include roofers, lawyers,
87 carpenters, students, doctors, electricians,
88 teachers, plumbers, military personnel,
89 business executives and others.

Functionalisation occurs when actors are represented through an activity that they are involved in (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 54). Volunteers are defined in terms of what they do, e.g., their occupation. They are also referred through 'appraisal' as the good people who do the right thing of helping others, i.e., they are '*dedicated*'. In Appendix 8 (page 3), the section on Success Stories of the Rebuilding Together's projects includes a statement or two of the work of the volunteers through positive evaluations, e.g., '*I'm thankin' the Lord for you ...*' ('Story A', lines 29-32); '*They do it not for thanks, but because it is the right thing to do*' ('Conclusion', lines 6-8). Their activities and involvement, for example, are represented as heroic acts of not just redecorating homes but also '*saving lives*'. This is apparent in Rebuilding Together's mission statement: '*We are saving homes and saving lives*' (Page 1: Oklahoman. Appendix 8, page 1), and in its mission statement, '*Rebuilding lives and neighbourhoods. Making homes safe, secure and weatherproof*' (Appendix 8, page 2). The 'we' is a collective reference that includes the organisation and the volunteers as 'us', which further amplifies their status and gives them 'power over' the category of actors being helped. These representations

magnify the social status of the volunteers by constructing them as moral volunteers, in this way ascribing to elitist attribute to define volunteers as special people who help others without expecting rewards.

On the other hand, the recipients of service are passivated as victims or treated as beneficiaries and patients, as 'the Other'. Beneficiaries involve representation of actors as third parties who benefit from some activity of the active participants (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 44). Some of the most commonly used nouns and phrases to represent the service recipients are forms of identification in terms of what they are. Firstly, they are represented as the organisations' 'clients'. This is a form of 'relational identification' – social actors are represented in terms of their relationship to each other, e.g., personal, kinship or work relation (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 56-7). Here, recipients of service are 'possessivated' (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 56-7) through the pronoun '*our*' for *client* or with a genitive, e.g., '*Rebuilding Together client*'. Another common reference is '*applicant*'. Both '*applicant*' and '*client*' are nouns that identify the service recipients in relation to the organisation itself, as benefiting from the services offered by the organisation, which make poor people beneficiaries of the organisation's activities, thus once again represented as passivated actors.

In the pamphlet of the Food Bank, the people who receive the donations from the agency are most commonly referred to as '*Oklahoma's hungry*' line 5, '*the needy*' line 10 (see Appendix 11); '*needy people*' line 5-6 (see Appendix 10, page 2). These terms ascribe negative evaluations to the people in poverty. Some of these

terms ‘impersonalise’ the actors, thus leaving out the semantic feature of humanity, e.g., ‘*the hungry*’, ‘*the needy*’. These actors are demarcated as a separate group of actors from the volunteers, e.g., ‘*people in need*’ (Appendix 9, page 1); ‘*families and children in need*’. They are also passivated and treated as objects, e.g., ‘*Oklahoma’s hungry*’ line 5 (Appendix 11), in this way they become ‘subjected social actors’ (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 44-5) who are beneficialised and treated as a third party.

Terms such as these not only ascribe negative evaluations, they also background all other aspects about this group of actors. By identifying them as ‘*hungry*’ or ‘*needy*’ they are represented via their state of being hungry or in need, thereby excluding all other characteristics about them. The action of helping the people in need is described as ‘*feeding*’. In Appendix 9, the Food Bank’s mission is stated as ‘*to feed people in need*’ (page 1), its programs are called – ‘*feeding programs*’ line 33 (page 2), as ‘*charitable feeding programs*’ lines 51-52 (page 3), ‘*feeding programs across the state*’ line 66 (page 3) or ‘*member feeding programs*’ line 79-80 (page 3). The term ‘*feed*’ would be commonly associated with infants or animals, treating them as passive recipients who are otherwise helpless or vulnerable and unable to obtain food for themselves. The Food Bank’s use of the term ‘*feed*’ to describe its activity of helping people in poverty passivates and treats them as objects. The term ‘*feeding programs*’ is most commonly used in animal care and welfare, but the Food Bank’s use of the term that makes them the object of volunteers, demoralises people in poverty.

In this section, I have looked at some of the texts circulated by two Community Partners that engage the Rosberg students in voluntary service. It is without doubt that organisations such as these are a great asset to any society – they coordinate programs that help people in poverty. The discourses of communitarian and fun are predominant in the agencies’ recontextualisation of VCS, whereby the actors are depicted as a community that works together to help each other, ‘side by side’ to improve the lives of the people in poverty. The volunteers are represented as the active doers, thereby giving them agency, with their activities foregrounded. They are attributed higher social and moral status, which ascribes to elitist attributes (discourse of elitism). Thus, underlying the message that volunteers are exceptional people who have come together to help and ‘save’ the lives of poor people, is the distinction between ‘us and them’ in the organisation’s construction of those in poverty as being poor, people who are grateful and dependent on the volunteers for their help. This passivates the people in poverty.

The volunteer agencies such as the Rebuilding Together and Oklahoma Regional Food Bank are part of the service experiences of the student-volunteers. The three main discourses, i.e., communitarian, fun and elitism, are used to recontextualise elements of the social practice of VCS that coincide with the representations of the students and teachers. These agencies’ representations enact the larger picture of the caring society. Their portrayal of volunteers as special, moral people reinforces the elitist identity of volunteers. These organisations are also backed by the government-led POL Foundation which oversees and regulates the volunteer programs through awards and financial aid. Thus, these organisations are

part of the mission of the POL foundation that mirrors the ideology of the government to engage volunteers to solve social problems. In this way, they can be said to play a key role in shaping the students' discourses/construction of reality. In the next section, my analysis of the POL Foundation that liaises between the government and the grassroots level practitioners of VCS will illustrate this argument further. This will also complete the broader scope of the macro and micro level networks of Bush's governance through community, and my analysis of the various organisations to illustrate how VCS in contemporary America is a hegemonic practice for the regulation of conduct.

8.7 Points of Light Foundation: Social Exclusion and 'The American Way of Life'

The Points of Light Foundation embodies America's spirit of volunteerism and the goodwill of its citizens. Our nation will counter evil with good, defeat terrorism by routing out its perpetrators and comforting its victims, and continue to answer the calls of the people in need. (George W. Bush, About POL Foundation: <http://www.pointsoflight.org>)

Based in Washington, the POL Foundation plays a key role as the advisor and overseeing body for volunteerism. In this way, this organisation brings the government's national service campaign closer to the people and is a crucial part of Bush's network of allegiance for managing the population. It was originally founded by the former President George Bush Sr. in 1989, but in the post-September 11 period, it has been given a new lease on life by Bush. It was initially represented by its founder through a discourse of moral values similar to that of Bush's representations, e.g., through lexical items such as '*soul of America*', '*hope and opportunity*', '*friendship and care*' ('*Points of light are the soul of America. They*

are ordinary people who reach beyond themselves to the lives of those in need, bringing hope and opportunity, friendship and care'). But today, this message has been transformed/recontextualised to suit the goals of Bush's agenda in the post-September 11 period.

The message is a conflation of the discourses of moral/religious principles with war and nationalism that is reminiscent of his post September 11 speeches analysed in Chapter 7, e.g., phrases such as '*acts of kindness*', '*America's spirit of volunteerism*' '*the good will of its citizens*', combined with the binary logic of antagonistic opposites ('us versus them') such as '*defeat evil with good*', *defeat terrorism by routing out its perpetrator*' (see epigraph for this section). Although the main message has been 're-presented' by drawing upon the themes of war and September 11, the mission statement of the POL foundation has not been changed.

In this section my analysis will demonstrate how this mission statement correlates with Bush's compassionate conservative ideology discussed in Chapter 7. The foundation's '*mission statement*' and '*The meaning behind our mission statement*' found in the website are the data for analysis in this section. I look at the foundation's representations of the social actors and action and the discourses they evoke. The Foundation's '*The meaning behind our mission statement*' is divided into six paragraphs with subheadings which I have numbered paragraphs 1-6 and the statements as lines 1- 42 (see Appendix 12, pages 3-4).

Mobilising volunteers to solve social problems is the key feature of the POL Foundation. It starts in paragraph 1 (Paragraph 1, lines 1-8) by outlining it as the

main theme – that volunteerism can bring about positive social change and improvement of social and moral order in society (*'sustained (long-term) commitment ...is best way to make significance in the lives of others' lines 4-5*).

Paragraph 1

1. **WE ENGAGE:** While the Foundation does not directly mobilize or coordinate
2. specific volunteer initiatives within local communities, we do support the efforts
3. of Volunteer Centers and other agencies that are responsible for coordinating
4. volunteers. We believe that a sustained (long-term) commitment by volunteers is
5. the best way to make a significant difference in the lives of others. Episodic,
6. occasional or one-time volunteering is also important, but may not develop the
7. appropriate long-term knowledge or experience necessary for volunteers to solve
8. today's serious social problems.

In paragraph 2, the main theme is increasing the number of 'volunteers'. This is referred to here as 'MORE PEOPLE' that follows on from the phrase 'WE ENGAGE' in paragraph 1. Although its use of the word *'people'* is a generic term that refers to all of America (*'Our goal is to engage everyone... from every walk of life'* lines 9-10), through 'differentiation' (Van Leeuwen, 1996) that highlights the differences from the included majority, it uses the 'us/them' categorisation to define people in poverty as a separate group – *'people in need'* (line 10).

Paragraph 2

9. **MORE PEOPLE:** Our goal is to engage everyone in volunteering from every
10. walk of life. We also believe that "people in need" should also volunteer as a way
11. to learn how to reconnect themselves to their society and its resources. Ultimately,
12. we want volunteering to become a way of life for every citizen; for people to
13. believe that volunteering isn't just nice to do, but necessary.

But the main message here (Paragraph 2) is that volunteering leads to social inclusion and provides *'people in need'* an opportunity to be a part of the society (*'... people in need should also volunteer as a way to learn to reconnect themselves*

to their society and its resources' lines 10-11). This draws upon the discourse of social exclusion which defines poverty as caused by social exclusion, rather than lack of resources. But it also implies that there is an included majority and they are the better people (Levitas, 1998). Volunteerism is represented as the solution that can bring back the '*people in need*' who have become marooned from mainstream society (Davies, 2005) by helping them become connected to 'normal' life. But while the message is for social integration, it positions '*people in need*' as a separate group from the rest of society once again (*'learn how to reconnect themselves to their society and their resources'* line 11) But this also implies that it is their responsibility to bring themselves out of poverty.

A key message in paragraph 2 is the representation of volunteerism as a lifestyle choice in lines 11-13 (*'Ultimately we want volunteering to become a way of life for every citizen; for people to believe that volunteering isn't just nice to do, but necessary.'*). Lifestyle here signifies group specific forms of how individuals live and interpret their lives in a social context. POL's mission statement that situates volunteerism as a lifestyle option is its means of approximating one 'American Way of Life' for all through voluntary service as the obligation and duty of citizens. The foundation's situating of VCS as a lifestyle option is its strategy to link social structure to attitudes and behaviour to achieve its underlying mission that aims for regulation and control of the behaviours, attitude and beliefs of the people.

Volunteerism is commodified (*'an extremely valuable resource'* line 15, Extract 3). The foundation positions itself as a facilitator rather than to be directly involved in voluntary service.

Paragraph 3

14. **MORE EFFECTIVELY:** Increased social needs and decreased personal time has
15. made volunteering an extremely valuable resource. Therefore, it's vitally
16. important for volunteers to be engaged in worthwhile activities that make a
17. difference. Our role is to provide the appropriate knowledge, skills and tools for
18. volunteers to be effective.

This signifies what Triantafillou (2004: 11-12) calls 'outsourcing', a key feature of neo-liberal governments' method of governing from a distance by creating allegiances between government and society through its programs that aim to manage the population (see discussion in Chapter 3). The foundation distances itself from the activity of volunteerism to shift responsibility of social services to volunteer agencies and individuals.

In paragraph 4, (*'We believe that volunteering isn't simply nice to do, but that it must be a necessary part of our lives'* lines 19-20), volunteerism is constructed as the 'American way of life' to reaffirm it as a key ingredient of a good society and its people. This is an important point, as most volunteers are engaged by agencies such as the Rebuilding Together. Volunteers therefore are their main means of getting their own community projects underway. Engaging volunteers also ensures that these agencies have access to government funding and resources.

Paragraph 4

19. **IN VOLUNTEER SERVICE:** We believe that volunteering isn't simply nice to
20. do, but that it must be a necessary part of our lives. Volunteers are people who are
21. committed to be responsible for and serve others without reward. People are the
22. key ingredient for success. When people don't reach out to those in need, society
23. becomes fragmented and serious social problems will result. If social
24. fragmentation becomes too far-reaching, social normality will be totally
25. destroyed. Serious social problems aren't simply prevented or solved with private
26. funding or government programs. It requires the human connection established by
27. volunteers. The cost of solving serious social problems without volunteers would
28. be astronomical. In fact, today's volunteer workforce represents the equivalent of
29. over nine million full-time employees whose combined efforts are worth \$225
30. billion (based on \$14.30 an hour in 1998).

Thus the commodification of volunteerism foregrounds the importance of volunteers while also aiming to attract private, faith and charitable organisations to actively enlist volunteers, in line with the recommendations of the government that are implicitly promoted by the Foundation. Volunteerism as a commodity is more distinct in paragraph 4, in lines 29-30, where it is given an estimate in terms of its capital value (*'worth \$225 billion...'*). Commodifying volunteerism, on the one hand, foregrounds the message that volunteerism is something to be valued or beneficial to the society. On the other, it situates volunteers through appraisal (Van Leeuwen, 1996) as special people, using phrases such as *'volunteers are committed to be responsible for others'* and *'serve without reward'* (lines 20-21). This is a follow-up of the representation of volunteerism as a lifestyle option in lines 19-20, and is a strategy for constructing the collective identity of the people as volunteers, whereby they are defined as moral individuals who help others without seeking rewards or benefits. Defining volunteers as special people ascribes to elitist attributes.²⁰

²⁰ Elitism and the construction of elite identity are discussed in more detail in the Sections 8.3 and 8.5.

Paragraph 4 continues with the view that volunteerism equals social inclusion. This is achieved by creating a causal relation between the two concepts. Firstly, without volunteerism (*'When people don't reach out to those in need'* lines 22-23), social division or exclusion happens in society (*'society becomes fragmented'* lines 23-24). Secondly, that exclusion is the cause of serious social problems (*'serious social problems will result'* line 23). The foundation draws upon the concept of social exclusion in reference to the underclass which in recent times is said to have become a set phrase for social ills (Kleinman, 2000). It also draws upon the view that exclusion is a move away from normal life (*'When social fragmentation becomes too far-reaching, social normality will be totally destroyed'* lines 24-25).

In this way, the foundation implies that exclusion is 'more than poverty', with inclusion and volunteerism defined as 'normal life' (Geddes, 1997). This reference positions the included majority as those who are not disconnected from society and reinforces their role to *'reach out'* and help those who are excluded. Intrinsically, this category of actor is given agency and therefore an element of 'power over' is assumed, which naturalises asymmetries in the relationship between the included majority ('volunteers') and the excluded minority (*'people in need'*). But the Foundation's portrayal of 'normal life' is based on the notion of fear of social decay – that normality is under threat and could lead to negative implications. Harris and Williams (2003: 211) say that fear is a crucial feature of official calls to social inclusion. They add:

It is behind the neo-conservative belief that something has gone terribly wrong with the social and moral order, as well as the underclass theorists' contention that the poor have become isolated from mainstream society, and are concentrated in pathological and dangerous communities that promote parasitism and immorality as well as dependence. (Harris and Williams, 2003: 211)

Campbell (1978: 73) sees the notion of what "we" are as being intrinsic to an understanding of what "we" fear – "to have a threat requires enforcing a closure on the community that is threatened". Therefore the foundations' representation draws upon an 'us versus them' categorisation based on the notions of threat and fear. This creates further divisions that lead to inequalities and asymmetrical power relations among the practitioners of VCS.

In paragraphs 5 and 6, the adjective '*serious*' is used to modify '*social problems*' (lines 32-33 and 36); this connotes something in the nature of danger or risk to others.

Paragraph 5

31. **TO HELP SOLVE:** While we believe that volunteering is an effective solution,
32. the Foundation is not a "volunteer." Therefore, we help to solve serious social
33. problems by supporting the efforts of Volunteer Centers and other organizations
34. that do coordinate local volunteers and initiatives. Our work is also directed at
35. preventing social problems, not just solving them.

Paragraph 6

36. **SERIOUS SOCIAL PROBLEMS:** Serious social problems are those problems
37. that cause considerable disruption to our lives and the lives of others. And
38. the characteristics and frequency of social problems may vary within each local
39. community, the problems generally fall into major categories: homelessness,
40. violence, poverty, personal abuse, substance addiction, health, etc. The
41. Foundation also supports volunteering for cultural or environmental initiatives,
42. but our primary focus is set on serious social problems

Secondly, when explained as '*those problems that cause considerable disruption to our lives and the lives of others*' (lines 36-37), there is an attribute of blame on those who are responsible for these 'serious social problems' – namely '*the people in need*' (line 10, paragraph 1). While throughout the mission statement (paragraphs 1-5) the foundation had positioned itself outside of the volunteering community, in paragraph 6, it aligns itself with the volunteers through the use of inclusive 'our' ('*disruption to our lives*' line 37). The foundation aligns itself with the included majority ('*our lives*' line 37) by defining or identifying a common 'enemy' or 'threat' to everyone. In doing so, 'people in need' are once again defined as 'the Other' ('*and the lives of others*' line 37).

Furthermore, when '*homelessness, violence, poverty, personal abuse, substance addiction, health*' are all constructed as belonging together under one main category as '*serious social problems*', they are ascribed as 'problems' in the same level. These are all features of the discourse of social exclusion which, according to Fairclough (2000: 53), minimises the differences and excludes certain relationships between the problems and agencies. It is also implied that only the excluded or the 'people in need' are involved in crime, drug addiction and violence. Besides, this form of categorisation is a strategy to normalise poverty and leads to quiescent public acceptance of poverty. It also diverts attention of the people from focusing on policies that are counterproductive to the reform of the poor, which is part of Pattern 1 of poverty (see discussion of Edelman's (1977) and Fairclough's (2000) views in Chapter 7).

In summary, the POL Foundation draws mainly upon the discourse of social exclusion to recontextualise the social practice of VCS. It defines volunteerism as the solution to social problems and as a lifestyle option for the people – as ‘the American way of life’. In this way, volunteerism is defined as social inclusion while exclusion is represented as more than poverty. The foundation ascribes elitist attributes to volunteers as those who can bring back social order. While it encourages the ‘people in need’ to also volunteer, this is only said within a discourse of social exclusion that attributes blame to the people in poverty in order to construct volunteerism as inclusion and the means for bringing back social order.

Although on the surface the foundation claims to promote social integration or cohesion through its mission statement that demarcates an ‘us versus them’ categorisation, it creates a greater divide between the included majority and the ‘people in need’. It focuses on the individual pathologies and inadequacies of the people while their problems are defined as threatening the normality of society and gives agency to volunteers. This reinforces inequalities and asymmetrical power relations in society. It obscures certain knowledge structures in terms of symptoms, causation and agencies and of their relationship with poverty, homelessness, unemployment etc, which leads to quiescent public acceptance of poverty and the policies of the government as the best measure for solving such problems.

The foundation’s representations of VCS are similar to Bush’s recontextualisations of the elements of the social practice of VCS that have been demonstrated in my analyses of his speeches in Chapter 7, i.e., his use of the

discourse of social exclusion to represent volunteerism as inclusion, people in poverty as morally deficient and in need of inclusion, volunteers as people of exalted virtues, poverty as caused by exclusion, and volunteerism as the ‘American way of life’, etc. In this way, the foundation’s representations correlate with the Bush government’s ideology that originates from Olasky’s right-wing Christian views that underpin compassionate conservatism’s policy for welfare reform (see discussion on Olasky in Chapter 4).

According to Alvesson and Robertson, (2005), the construction of elite identities also involves other related groups or external larger influences to confirm the identity. In addition to the teachers and the SL national figures, the community partners and the POL foundation play a key role in informing the students’ representations of their service experience. All these actors expand on the students’ (volunteers’) perception of themselves as better people through the bigger picture of the service community that they portray. The community partners and teachers are directly linked with the POL foundation and largely echo its representations through their own. In general they all focus on volunteers and attribute a higher social role to them as the better social group who can and should solve social problems. They reinforce the collective elite identity of the students and in this way play an important part in the construction and manifestation of an elitist identity.

8.7 Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter, I set out to investigate the grassroots level practice of volunteerism to show its link to the national service initiative, as VCS in

contemporary America is part of the larger national service initiative – the USA Freedom Corps. I started out by giving an overview of the micro and macro level service communities. My aim was to show the network of organisations that interface government and society. As VCS is based on the idea of ‘community’ and collective action, it was also my aim to demonstrate that today VCS is part of Bush’s ‘governance through community’ (Rose, 1996), a new territory of government that aims for the administration of the population through the formation of self-regulating communities that liaise between government and society. For this general aim, I used the concepts of intertextuality and recontextualisation and focused my analyses on the discourses of the various actors within this social network, e.g., students, teachers, volunteer agencies and government organisation, to trace the ideology underpinning the practice within this social structure and to show its link to the Bush government’s ideology.

My analyses demonstrated the similarities between the discourses used by the students in their recontextualisation of VCS and the other actors, e.g., national SL trainer in her narration of what SL is, volunteer agencies in the account of their service programs. In this sense, the students’ representations have similarities to those of the other actors, e.g., in their representations of self as role-models, and as the better people who help those in need. There are elements of intertextuality whereby the representations of the students can be said to draw upon those of Mrs C (their SL teacher), Carol K (national trainer) and the volunteer agencies, as they engage with these actors in their involvement in service. The recontextualisation of VCS by Carol K, in turn, has similarities to Bush’s 2001 Inaugural Address, e.g., her

representation of VCS as part of the duties and responsibilities of Americans. The POL foundation's recontextualisation of VCS via the discourse of social exclusion is similar to Bush's discourse of compassionate conservatism, which reflects the principles of the right-wing Christian principles advocated by Olasky.

In general, the students, teachers/trainers and the volunteer agencies use the discourses of fun and communitarian to help them position VCS as a fun-filled activity of a caring society, and as a lifestyle choice. In this way, they help create the bigger picture of 'one American way of life' through service as civic duty and obligation of the people. This message is recontextualised as part of the mission statement of the POL foundation as well as in the narration of SL by Carol K (the national SL trainer). From a broader perspective, this leads into the greater source of power that underlies this social practice today – it is part of the core message of Bush's new approach to welfare reform, which I had demonstrated through my analyses in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. This broader picture of the caring society is the common thread that links all these different actors and their representations together. Thus, drawing upon the broader goals of the Bush government's agenda for welfare reform, these different actors who engage in VCS can be said to help in the dissemination of government ideology that situates collective action of the people via VCS as the means to solve social issues such as poverty. In this way, the students, teachers, trainers, volunteer agencies and other government organisations are linked to the government's ideology and programme for welfare reform.

The picture of the caring society fundamentally obscures one major element – the hardship of the people in poverty. Poverty, when mentioned, is indicated as statistics and facts by the community partners,²¹ thus these amount to mere explanations or accounts to show that poverty exists. These representations keep the ‘real picture’ of the hardship at a distance. Through such factual representations of poverty, there are more chances of the organisations promoting themselves and their programs as a necessary or important measure to ‘fight poverty’. This also increases their engagement of volunteers for their programs. What is therefore backgrounded or is absent is the subject of the hardship of the people being helped. In the visuals used by the volunteer agencies, there is very little emphasis of them as victims of hardship. There seems to be an incongruity between the written and visual elements of cited texts, in that the photographs do not represent ‘hungry’, ‘needy’, and ‘poor’ or desperate people, therefore aestheticising (Feartherstone, 1991) the images of poverty.

More attention therefore is directed towards the ‘fun’ that everyone is having while working together. In this way, they foreground the volunteers and their activities. All the different actors discussed in this chapter paint the picture of a

²¹ In the printed documents about the Rebuilding Together organisations and the Regional Food Bank of Oklahoma, there is evidence of what I consider as ‘quantifying poverty’ by using statistics and figures, e.g. Appendix 8, page 4 of the Rebuilding Together article in the Oklahoman, and Appendix 11, lines 4-5. This is a kind of representation that is better known as ‘aggregation’ quantifies the actor as some kind of ‘statistics’ and facts. Aggregation, says Van Leeuwen (1996:49), is often used to “regulate practice and to manufacture consensus opinion, even though it presents itself as merely recording facts”. Although there is mention of poverty and about the people in poverty, with their hardship represented as hard facts and figures that are treated as information, this makes the organisation’s projects seem more important and therefore viable, thus ensuring successful volunteer engagement.

caring society coming together to help solve the problems of society. In this way, the discourse of fun is used to disseminate the view that poverty does exist but it is well in hand because we are fundamentally a caring society working together. This is a strategy of normalising poverty. It also naturalises inequalities and asymmetrical power relations between the volunteers and people in poverty, which leads to a greater divide of social class and status, something that was evident in the students' positioning of themselves by ascribing to elite attributes.

Foucault (1983a: 208) describes such divides of social status as 'dividing practices', defined as practices of government where the subject is "either divided inside himself or divided from others". This refers to the techniques of the state that not only focus on top-down authorisation but also the ways in which personal conduct comes to be regulated by the people themselves.²² Rose (1996: 340) further expands on this view that dividing practices are "new ways for the understanding, classifying and acting upon the subjects of government", through the "re-coding of dividing practices, revising the distinctions between the *affiliated* and the *marginalized*." The 'affiliated' are the 'included'. This refers to "the individuals and families who have financial, educational and moral means to 'pass' their role as active citizens in responsible communities". They are sustained by an array of 'civilized' images and devices that depicts a certain lifestyle. The 'marginalized' on the other hand are those who are not part of this lifestyle and not considered as 'affiliated' by "virtue of their incapacity to manage themselves as subjects or they are considered affiliated to some kind of 'anti-community' whose morality, lifestyle

²² See discussion of 'Governmentality' in Chapter 2.

or comportment is considered a threat or reproach to public contentment and political order” (Rose, 1996: 340).

My analyses showed that underlying the discourses of fun and communitarian are the actors’ preoccupation with the service providers, their lives, families, etc. They use the discourse of elitism to reinforce their middle class existence and social status. For example, the students use the discourse of elitism to build a narrative of ‘self’ and ingroup as the better people in society – the moral people who help others. In defining the outgroup, they use the ‘us’ and ‘them’ discourse to ‘Other’ those being helped and categorise them as ‘needy’ or ‘underprivileged’. Through a constant reference to the Other’s conditions of poverty, the students position themselves as the better people. Their representations imply that the ingroup is the included majority, and the poor belong in bad neighbourhoods and have criminal tendencies. The other actors such as the teachers, volunteer agencies, play a role in reinforcing the elitist status of the students. This ascribes to asymmetrical power relations that creates social hierarchies and marginalises people in poverty.

Foucault (1983a; 1988a; 1988b) adds that dividing practices also incur a divide within the individual. In my analysis, this was evident in the discourses of the students which involved a reflexive process of the construction of an elite ‘self’ identity as well as the performative identity construction of the ‘elite’ ingroup. The students’ elite identity is dependent on the confirmation by their group to reflect the elitist attributes. Group affiliation means ensuring normative behaviour in terms of

discipline, appearance, language, etc. which is a means of moderating and regulating the self, as anything unacceptable would disrupt group cohesion. This involves performative identity construction. Alvesson and Robertson quote Kunda (1992) to explain that an identity grounded in elitism will “imbue individuals with a significant sense of self-esteem and distinctiveness” that will contribute to their overall demeanour as responsible individuals who do the ‘right’ thing. According to Kunda

self-categorization which indicates belongingness to an exclusive group and provides for feelings of high-self esteem is likely therefore to generate a degree of normative control, self- disciplining ... to work collaboratively with others in an ... context where more traditional direct forms of control are inappropriate or need to be supplemented. A distinctive strong social identity may also help to shape and regulate predictable, responsible behaviours...so that they can be trusted to do ‘what is right’ (Kunda, 1992, cited in Alvesson and Robertson, 2006: 200)

In this sense, SL plays a crucial role in the ‘conduct of conduct’, the Foucauldian view of ‘government’ as the ways in which the conduct of the individual is regulated, shaped, guided or steered in the desired direction (Gordon, 1991: 2; Lemke, 2001b: 191). The various organisations/actors that form the service community network bring the ideologies of the government to the people. This is indicative of Rose’s concept of ‘governance through community’. The reflection tasks in SL are a means of ‘technologies of the self’ (Foucault, 1983a; 1983b; 1997), whereby the students are tied to their identity and their social group through their roles as volunteers. They are steered to certain ways of being, behaving, acting, and speaking in order to attain and preserve their elitist position in society. This also means that a collective identity based on elitism increases not only group affiliation

but also group dynamics, and this ensures collaborative teamwork and joint endeavour, something that favours the organisations and teachers whose aim is to engage more volunteers in their projects, which are in line with Bush's Faith Based Initiative and his depiction of the caring society as a substitute for the welfare state.

In summary, with the nation focusing on volunteering as 'acts of kindness' and 'compassion' (Bush, 2001) for building a caring society, the preoccupation, thus, is with the act of performing service. Through the discourses of fun and communitarian, the focus is on the volunteers. The discourse of elitism that is used by both the students and the teachers to portray the volunteers is more about the shaping and regulating of the conduct and behaviour of the volunteers rather than about practising 'compassion' for the understanding of the suffering of the people in poverty in order to help them. In this way, the community partners and the teachers and even the POL organisation play a crucial role in the social construction of reality and dissemination of ideology. They are helping to share and practice the ideology of the government. Within the social practice of VCS, these actors are 'the helping professionals' (Edelman, 1977: 20-21), i.e., people in various areas that are connected to society, such as social work, teaching, etc. Edelman (1977: 59-60) explains:

Because the helping professionals define other people's statuses (and their own) the terms they employ to categorize clients and justify restrictions of their physical movements and of their moral and intellectual influence are especially revealing of the political functions language performs and of the multiple realities it helps to create. ...the helping professionals create and reinforce popular beliefs about which kinds of people are worthy and which unworthy; about who should be rewarded through governmental action and who controlled or subjected to discipline.

The teachers, national trainers, volunteer agencies, POL foundation, etc can be said to be the helping professionals in the social structure of VCS under the auspices of the USA Freedom Corps because they mediate between the ‘technology of government’ (USA Freedom Corps) – for the management of the population – and the ‘technology of self’ (VCS) – for the regulation of the behaviour, attitudes, beliefs by the self. As Foucault (1991a: 100) sees it, large scale campaigns enable the government to make the population both its subject and object for rule. He adds that this however may not be done within the full-grasp of ‘awareness’ of the population as the people may be ignorant of what is being done to them. This is explained further in the epigraph of this chapter: ‘People know what they do; they frequently know why they do what they do; but what they don’t know is what they do does’ (Foucault, 1983b: 187). In the social practice of voluntary community service, ‘government through community’ creates networks of allegiance with the ‘helping professionals’ in the service community to disseminate the government ideology. In this way, VCS under the USA Freedom Corps is a planned strategy of social control that aims to steer the people’s attitude, behaviour, beliefs, values, etc in the desired direction.

Within an existing social system, people are assigned to roles. A given individual performs a specified set of behaviours and occupies a specific position. To some extent, these behaviours are performed by any person occupying that position regardless of who he is or what his personal characteristics are.
(Berlo, 1960)

Chapter 9

Conclusions, Contributions and Limitations

9.1 Introduction

In this study I set out to investigate the social practice of voluntary community service (VCS) in contemporary America to show that in the post September 11 period, under the auspices of Bush's USA Freedom Corps, it has become a hegemonic practice for moral regulation and control of the people. This general aim makes this a study about ideology. I have been specifically interested in exploring specific features of ideology, i.e., its origins, implementation, legitimisation, and naturalisation, and how it becomes commonsense as part of the practices of people. My analyses centred on locating the discursive manifestations of ideology that underlie the social practice of VCS. To study ideology from its origins to its practices in society required me to consider it from both the macro and micro level social practices using a 'top-down' methodological procedure.

According to Edley and Wetherell (1997: 205-206), the 'top-down' forms of discursive studies look at issues of power, ideological practices and social processes.

Such studies mainly draw upon “analytical concepts of discursive regimes, interpretative repertoires, cultural narratives and subject positions in order to highlight the ways in which the people are spoken *through* and *by* discourses”. In this thesis, I looked at the ideological practices of the Bush government vis-à-vis the call for service and the launching of the USA Freedom Corps to engage the American people in VCS. The study considered the macro level practices by looking at the origins of the ideology (the right-wing Christian principles) to show its link to Bush’s current political philosophy – compassionate conservatism.

The thesis featured Bush’s government agenda for welfare reform, the Faith Based Initiative to replace the welfare state with the involvement of faith and charitable organisations in the delivery of social services. The macro level practices thus involve Bush’s implementation, legitimisation and naturalisation of this ideology via VCS. I also considered the micro level practice of VCS, i.e., the grassroots practice of the Rosberg High’s Service Learning community, to show how the VCS practices of the people are structured and shaped by the government’s ideology whereby through strategic planning and execution, the government has taken into account features of the everyday practices of the people in order to achieve its own ends. In this way, the government ideology comes to be a part of the shared practices of the people.

To this end, I adopted the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis which looks at language as the instrument for the dissemination of ideology vis-à-vis power asymmetries, hierarchies, domination and exploitation in society. I drew upon

Foucault's (1991a, 1991b) 'governmentality' approach for the study of the practices of modern government that explain how the practice of power in modern societies involves technologies of government such as campaigns for the management of the population. Both these approaches provide the analytical framework for my study to show how social control is achieved in society through coercion rather than force. For the analyses, I referred to the three key concepts, namely, 'context', 'recontextualisation' and 'legitimation' to state the various analytical tools I adopted for my investigation of the social practice of VCS.

I combined the Discourse Historical Approach (Wodak et al., 2001a) with Hyatt's (2005) four-category model to narrate the context for the current practice of VCS. Considering discourse as a resource for representation and as knowledge of aspects of reality, I used Van Leeuwen's (1995, 1996) discourse analytic approach for the study of recontextualised social practices. I also adopted other frameworks for the study of ideological representations such as the 'us/them' categorisation, use of pronoun 'we', and self presentation frames. To study the discourse of legitimation, I referred to Van Leeuwen's (2007) categorisation of legitimation. My investigation focused on the recontextualisation of the social practice of VCS by the various actors such as Bush, students, teachers, trainers, volunteer agencies and government organisations, to locate the discourses that they employ to represent elements of VCS. These discourses help in their legitimation of the social practice of VCS. But these discourses also ascribe to social hierarchies and naturalise power relations and divisions in society.

Using these different analytical tools, I addressed the following overarching research question: What are the main discourses used to represent the social practice of VCS in contemporary America, and how do they inform the overall ideology underpinning this practice as part of Bush's agenda for welfare reform, moral regulation and social control? More specifically, I addressed the following sub-questions:

1. What are the legitimisation discourses employed by Bush for the mobilisation of the American people in voluntary community service prior to the September 11 attacks? (Chapter 5)
2. What are the legitimisation discourses employed by Bush for the mobilisation of the people via his national service initiative, the USA Freedom Corps, in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks? (Chapter 6)
3. What are the discourses employed by Bush to legitimate his Faith-Based Initiative as the alternative to the welfare state? (Chapter 7)
4. What are the discourses employed by other relevant actors, e.g., volunteers, teachers, national SL teacher/trainer, volunteer agencies and government organisation, to legitimate the social practice of voluntary community service in contemporary America? (Chapter 8)

5. In view of the findings to the above research questions, what are some of the implications of these discourses on the social practice of VCS in contemporary America?

In the rest of this chapter, I discuss the research findings that emerge from my data analysis. To minimise repetition, some of these questions will be discussed together, e.g., research questions 1 and 2. I then move onto state what I consider as the contributions and limitations of the study, and suggest future research opportunities developing from this thesis.

9.2 Investigating the Social Practice of VCS in Contemporary America

My investigation of the current practices of voluntary community service in America started with Bush's 2002 State of the Union Address in which he had called on the American people to serve. To this end, he had introduced his national service campaign, the USA Freedom Corps, in a speech that was delivered four months after the September 11 attacks, at a time when Bush was planning his War On Terror. My first analytical chapter (Chapter 5) started with Bush's 2001 Inaugural Address, a pre-September 11 speech, in which he had asked the American people to become citizens. I then moved on to analyse his 2002 State of the Union Address in Chapter 6. In Chapter 7, I looked at two speeches, pre and post-September 11, to uncover the ideology underpinning the practice of VCS under the political philosophy of Bush's compassionate conservatism. In Chapter 8, I looked at the discourses used by volunteers and other organisations/individuals involved in the grassroots practice of

VCS to illustrate the link between Bush's ideology and the grassroots practice of VCS. At this point, I would like to explain the logical sequence of the analysis in this thesis with evidence from the four analytical chapters.

9.2.1 The Legitimation of Hegemony

In this section, I summarise the findings of Chapters 5 and 6 which correspond with research questions 1 and 2. One of my key arguments in this thesis has been that the USA Freedom Corps embodies the principles of conservative ideology that aims to abolish the welfare state. I view Bush's calling on the people to volunteer after September 11 as his strategy to achieve the goals of his political ideology of 'compassionate conservatism' and its program for welfare reform, the Faith Based Initiative. Historical evidence of past initiatives of American presidents and Bush's own pledge to enlist faith and charitable organisations for the provisions of social services (discussed in Chapter 4) have led me to this argument. Thus, although the Bush government has claimed that the USA Freedom Corps was launched due to the people's need to be involved in service and as part of the exigencies of September 11, my argument has been that there was a strategic use of the attacks and war as well as the national climate in the aftermath in order to implement the previously stalled Faith Based Initiative. For this reason, I undertook a comparative analysis of Bush's calls for service in the 2002 State of the Union Address and the 2001 Inaugural Address.

My findings here revealed that Bush had used very different discourses to legitimate his policy for engaging the American people in service. Prior to the attacks, he had employed the discourses of communitarian and citizenship, but had embedded these discourses within a discourse of moral and religious values in order to legitimate VCS as being willed by God. This situated VCS as a moralised and moralising social practice. In comparison, in his 2002 State of the Union Address, Bush had drawn upon an authoritarian discourse and the discourses of war and nationalism. The legitimating discourses suited the general climate in America after the attacks, i.e., America was faced with the threat of further attacks and was heading towards war. They were parallel to the nation's mood, i.e., there was an upsurge in nationalism and patriotism amongst the people. VCS was constructed as 'a new era' or 'culture' of service and as the 'resolve to fight the evil of September 11', while September 11 was nominated as the authority that had summoned the launch of the USA Freedom Corps and the people's engagement in service. The American people, who were more receptive to Bush's popular leadership role in the aftermath, thus embraced his resolves for war and VCS. This had led to the success of Bush's national service campaign.

The comparison of these two speeches evinced a discursive shift that had led to the success of Bush's legitimation and implementation of his policy to mobilise the people in VCS in the post September 11 Period. Although Bush had asked the people to volunteer in 2001, his strategic use of the national crisis in his 2002 speech led to his successful engagement of the people in VCS. From CDA's perspective, chapters 5 and 6 show how ideology comes to be legitimated through the process of

recontextualisation. Bush's representation of VCS in his 2002 address is a 're-presentation' (Sarangi, 1998) of the message in his 2001 speech. Besides legitimisation, the analysis also illustrates how ideologies come to be naturalised, i.e., the "emptying of ideological contents of discourses" (Fairclough, 1989: 91-92). The legitimisation discourses in the 2001 Inaugural Address reflect the principles of Bush's political ideology of 'compassionate conservatism'. But underlying this ideology are the main themes of traditional conservatism such as religion, moral values, citizenship, American idealism, etc. The combined use of these discourses by Bush, however, enabled him to subsume his conservative ideology/agenda within the moderate sounding and liberal rhetoric that these discourses portray. This is also the case of the legitimisation discourses in his 2002 speech. Through the strategic use of September 11 and War On Terror (national crisis) and the nation's mood, he managed to construct VCS as being warranted by the attacks and the people's need to serve rather than as part of his Faith Based Initiative. In this sense, I have shown how powerful people can draw upon different discourses to represent the same agenda in order to naturalise ideology.

But this way of naturalising ideology infers "manipulation, with strategies that manage or control the mind of the public at large, and with attempts to thus manufacture the consent or fabricate a consensus in the interests of those in power" (Van Dijk, 1998: 274). Bush's main aim in the speeches was to gain the people's support for his agenda, i.e., both war and VCS. One of his key strategies in 'manufacturing consent' (Herman and Chomsky, 1988) in both these speeches has been the calculated way of 'subject positioning' (Fairclough, 1989: 102). For

example, in both speeches, he positioned the American people in different ways. In the 2001 speech, the people were seen as the American citizenry subjects – as a civic community with duties and responsibilities to themselves, to each other and to their country. This positioning enabled him to define their relationship with each other as a collective and consensual group through their roles and duties as citizens and moral subjects. However, it was his 2002 call for service that succeeded in achieving consent. His positioning of the people employed the discourses of nationalism and war to construct the people as an ‘imagined community’ (Anderson, 1991). According to Ryan (2004: 10), the symbol of community was ‘therapeutic’ for the American people in the days following September 11. It was also a time when dissent was seen as being anti-American (Hutchens, et. al., 2004: 47).

Bush’s positioning of the people in these speeches is similar in that they are both measures in constructing collective identities, and specifically American identity. But there is a crucial difference here, which can be said to have assisted Bush in achieving compliance and consent. His positioning of the people in the 2001 speech is grounded in the notion of citizenship, i.e., ‘an American citizen’ with obligations to each other and to the government. This refers to history, values and the culture of the American people. This positions the American people by comparing them to their forefathers, and the American tradition. In comparison, in the 2002 speech, he draws upon the notion of the national community or nation state which centres on the people’s duties and responsibilities to the rest of the world. Therefore, his positioning of the people as a nation-state is a global reference that draws upon the principles of the American exceptionalist ideology (Lipset, 1996;

Ricento, 2003) to position them as ‘the superior American people’, which is stated in comparison to the ‘Others’ (the rest of the world). Bush has, thus, succeeded in engaging the people in VCS through his strategic use of September 11, war, nationalism and authority. More importantly his positioning of the American people ‘as superior’ and ‘the greatest nation on the face of the Earth’ (George W. Bush, 31 Jan 2002) has enabled him to legitimate hegemony.

9.2.2 The Legitimation of Programs for Regulation and Control of Conduct

In chapters 5 and 6, I focused on the social practice of VCS as a hegemonic practice by examining how Bush had managed to gain the people’s support, i.e., how he manufactured consent through his strategic use of September 11 and war. Chapters 7 and 8 deal with the other main argument in this thesis, that both the Faith Based Initiative and the USA Freedom Corps are programs of the government that aim for moral regulation and control of the conduct of the people. This argument corresponds with research questions 3, 4 and 5. For this general aim, my analyses in Chapter 7 involved looking at two of Bush’s speeches in which he had promoted ‘compassionate conservatism’ and his Faith Based Initiative. I looked at the different discourses that he drew upon in his discourse of welfare reform. This included his strategic use of the pronoun ‘we’ to construct collectivity in order to construct VCS as the collective response of the people to fight social issues such as poverty and unemployment. I also looked at his representations of the various actors and the social reality of welfare and poverty. My purpose here was to reveal the ideological

stance of his program for welfare reform as a program that aims for the regulation of the people in poverty. In Chapter 8, I looked at the grassroots level practice of VCS. My investigation involved looking at the discourses employed by the various actors to legitimate VCS. I used the concepts of intertextuality and recontextualisation to trace some examples of the manifestation of Bush's ideology, i.e., to show how ideology becomes commonsense. The general aim here was to illustrate how the people's engagement in VCS involves what Foucault (1991a) calls 'technologies of self' that aim to steer the people to the desired lifestyle, attitudes, etc. of the government. In what follows I elaborate on the findings of these two chapters.

My analyses in Chapter 7 evinced Bush's use of a communitarian discourse to call for the collective action of the people in fighting poverty and social ills. This discourse was also part of his legitimisation strategy for his call for service in Chapter 5. This discourse helped Bush to naturalise his conservative ideology (via the Faith Based Initiative) that focused on shifting the responsibilities of government in the delivery of social services to the people. The communitarian discourse that uses the moderate sounding rhetoric of compassion has been a key discourse in legitimating hegemony. But his use of other discourses to legitimate the Faith Based Initiative, namely, the discourses of social exclusion and the moral underclass discourse (that is connected to the concept of social exclusion) reveals that the ideology of compassionate conservatism creates and maintains social divisions and hierarchies.

By using these discourses Bush marginalises the people in poverty, attributes blame to them for their conditions of poverty to construct poverty as lacking in

moral and spiritual values rather than resources. At the same time, Bush represents volunteers as the good moral Americans who help people in poverty, thereby giving them agency. This collective reference to volunteers infers an included majority (Levitas, 1998) which Bush is a part of. He positions the people in poverty as having strayed from mainstream society and as needing moral and spiritual reform (cf. Davies, 2005). Bush's ideological positioning of the volunteers and the people in poverty allows him to naturalise relations of power and inequalities. This illustrates Fairclough's (1989: 102-106) views that through subject positions assigned to people in the socialisation process, power relations come to be seen as commonsensical and therefore accepted in society (see discussion in Chapter 2). The subject positions ascribed to the actors by Bush implicitly incur interactional routines that help to structure and shape the social relations between them. But in the longer term such routinisation also constraint 'the society's system of social relationships'. This is a crucial impact of the changing practices of voluntary community service in modern-day America under Bush's service campaign, i.e., the USA Freedom Corps. In chapter 8, I went on to illustrate this point further. When subject positions are naturalised, it is also a strategy of those in power to 'delimit the stock of social identities' (Fairclough, 1989: 106).

While in Chapter 7 I focused on Bush's Faith Based Initiative as a program of conduct, in Chapter 8 my aim was to show how the USA Freedom Corps also incurs similar principles of a program of the government that aims for social control. This was a comprehensive account of the social practice of VCS whereby I started with an account of the macro and micro level structures involving various

organisations that interface the government and society. Underlying this structure is the idea of 'government through community' (Rose, 1996) that is said to be popular among liberal and neo-liberal governments for the administration of individual and collective existence. From the perspective of CDA, the macro and micro level organisations represent the social structure that underpins VCS in the post September 11 period under the USA Freedom Corps. It is the argument that this social structure also infers 'an order of discourse' (Fairclough, 1989) to determine and maintain the social structure and social order.

For this purpose, I looked at the various actors and the discourses they employ in their representations of VCS. Some facets of their representations are similar, i.e., the activity of performing service is represented through the discourses of communitarianism and fun. These discourses help to construct VCS as the collective action of the people to help the poor and as a fun-filled activity. The discourses portray 'community' as the caring society which implies equal relationships between the service providers and recipients. But the representations of the actors such as the students, teachers, etc that evoke these discourses naturalise power relations, inequalities and asymmetries.

The discourse of elitism is the main discourse used to represent the volunteers. There is a preoccupation with the doing of service and the volunteers (and others involved in providing service) rather than the people in poverty. The positioning of the service providers as moral volunteers and as good people who help those in need, helps in the construction of specific elite identities. My analysis

revealed that while the students defined themselves as 'elite', the other actors they encountered, e.g., teachers and volunteer agencies, also helped to reinforce and maintain the elitist attributes of the students. In this way, there are elements of stylisation (Cameron, 2001a), and performance (Butler, 1990), both measures that help structure and steer the students' behaviour towards the preferred style, habits, lifestyle, attitudes, etc.

A key argument for Chapter 8 is that the construction of elite identity of the volunteers is part of Bush's agenda for the construction of collective identity of the American people as exceptional/superior. For this purpose, I analysed the Points of Light Foundation's mission statement to reveal its positioning of volunteers and people in poverty. In its capacity as the organisation that oversees and facilitates the practice of VCS, this organisation is directly linked to the USA Freedom Corps and embodies the ideology of compassionate conservatism. My analysis of its mission statement evinced this point, where volunteerism is portrayed as social inclusion and volunteers as the included majority. They are also portrayed as moral volunteers who help the poor without expecting anything in return.

This strategic positioning of the volunteers aims to construct volunteerism as 'the American way of life'. Underlying this construction are the principles of American exceptionalism which were evident in Bush's representations of the people in his 2002 State of the Union Address (a crucial strategy that had helped Bush to legitimate hegemony). In sum, my analysis in Chapter 8 focused on all the different actors to consider their positioning of each other in order to unveil the

ideology of government that underpins their practice of VCS as ‘the one American way of life’. This constructs VCS as the collective action of the American people to fight poverty as part of Bush’s agenda for welfare reform. But in another way, it also draws upon the American exceptionalist ideology to construct the American people as superior and ‘elite’. From CDA’s perspective, my analysis in Chapter 8 has demonstrated how ideology becomes commonsensical, i.e., how it achieves its objective and becomes disguised in the everyday practices of people. Furthermore, this chapter illustrates a strategic communication technology of the government for the regulation and control of people.

9.2.3 ‘Compassion’ and ‘War’

In this section, I explain the relevance of the twin themes of ‘compassion’ and ‘war’ to this thesis as well as to the current practice of VCS in America. ‘Compassion’ represents the underlying principles of voluntary service, which is the “active moral demand to address others’ suffering” (Sznaider, 1998: 117). Under the auspices of the USA Freedom Corps, in order to suit Bush’s program of ‘public compassion’ as part of his moderate sounding rhetoric to naturalise conservative ideology, ‘compassion’ has been recontextualised from the Christian principles of ‘charity’ and ‘love thy neighbour’ to organised or institutionalised volunteerism as a mechanism for class control and state power. And ‘war’ (through direct reference and via September 11) has been a key element that has helped in this ideological construction and dissemination of ‘compassion’.

Although Bush had constructed VCS as ‘compassion’ as far back as in 1999, it is his construction of it as ‘the resolve to fight the evil of 9/11’ and the ‘new culture of service, responsibility and citizenship’ via a discourse of war that has enabled him to get his program of ‘public compassion’ underway. Although ‘war’ is only predominant in his representations of VCS in the 2002 State of the Union Address, there are intertextual elements of the theme present in other volunteer related speeches and documents. For example in his speech promoting compassionate conservatism (analysed in Chapter 7), he refers to war. Similarly, the POL foundation’s general aims have been recontextualised to suit the goals of the USA Freedom Corps through reference to ‘evil’ and ‘terrorism’ (discussed in Chapter 8).

As for the education sector, the students’ involvement in service has been represented as part of the USA Initiative (which comes under the USA Freedom Corps) through reference to September 11. In this way, both the themes of ‘compassion’ and ‘war’ have been crucial in the changing social practice of VCS in contemporary America. However, the significance of war to the legitimisation and implementation of the USA Freedom Corps and the mobilisation of the American people in VCS is only evident in the government’s (and government led organisations such as the POL foundation’s) discourses. At the grassroots level,

while ‘compassion’ is predominant in the discourses of the actors, ‘war’ is not so evident.¹

9.3 Contributions and Limitations of the Study

In this study, I have explored the ideology that underpins the practice of VCS in contemporary America. Several conclusions can be drawn from my investigation that contributes to the overall knowledge of the practices of ideology in modern societies. Firstly, several studies of the discursive manifestation of ideology have focused on context as an important feature of the analysis (e.g. Van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999; Wodak, 2001a; Wodak and Matouschek, 1993). This thesis broadens that understanding by locating ideology in the contextual elements of social practices. I have shown how different contextual elements of voluntary service practices, e.g., the right-wing Christian ideology of compassionate conservatism, the nation’s mood in the aftermath of September 11, have been crucial in locating the ideology of the current practice of VCS.

Secondly, context also figures as a main guiding factor in my investigation of the key concepts of ‘recontextualisation’ and ‘legitimation’. In this study, my analyses of Bush’s speeches have demonstrated how discourses of governments are dependent on external factors such as national crises, policies, etc. This feature of my analyses contributes further to an understanding of the practices of modern

¹ For example, the Rosberg SL program was implemented in 2002 by the ex-headmaster (after September 11 and Bush’s call for service and launching of the USA Freedom Corps). I had asked Mrs C why the SL program was implemented at Rosberg. She told me that it was the idea of the ex-headmaster. She did not make any links to Bush’s national service initiative. In my interview with other faculty members, I was informed that service is important in America and at Rosberg because it is part of the culture and tradition of the American people. It is part of their lives as Americans.

government in its means for legitimating and naturalising ideology, power relations and inequalities. While other studies have looked at macro or micro level manifestations of ideology (Machin and Van Leeuwen, 2005; Wodak and Matouschek, 1993, Van Dijk, 1998), this thesis has brought together both macro and micro level practices to illustrate how ideology of those in power becomes part of the practices of society.

The notion of subject positioning has been another crucial contribution of this study for the understanding of ideological practices. My analyses of the discourses of the various actors to locate their positioning of each other has illustrated how social positions play a crucial role in naturalising ideologies, e.g., the subject position of service providers legitimates power relations and asymmetries. This thesis has illustrated features of the socialisation of persons in society and the ideological positioning of subjects, i.e., how through VCS inequalities, stereotypes, social structures, etc come to be naturalised. These are all representations of ideological practices of dominant groups. The social position assigned to people subjectifies them (Foucault, 1991) and helps the government in achieving its objectives.

There are several limitations to this study. While I have argued in this thesis that in the social practice of VCS under the USA Freedom Corps there is a preoccupation with the providers of service and the activity of volunteering rather than the people in poverty, I have to state that I am equally guilty of such a crime. Although I did have conversations with members of the 'Community in Need', e.g.,

the kids at the First Boys and Girls Club, the residents at a home for the elderly, etc. during my fieldtrips, I did not incorporate these into my study. This is mainly because my focus has been more on showing how government ideology informs the practices of people, which warranted centring on the service providers rather than the people being served.

A further limitation is that I did not investigate the missing gap in the knowledge structures of the service providers. While poverty is discussed in terms of raising awareness of the students as a way of knowing that it exists, neither the teachers nor the other actors, e.g., volunteer agencies, talk about the bigger issues, i.e., what causes of poverty such as recession, unemployment, dysfunctional economic system. In my interview with Carol, she did mention that a discussion of social issues such as poverty during the SL classes would not be received favourably by the parents of the students, the boards of study nor the government. Looking further into this aspect might reveal other features of ideology, e.g., the obscuring of certain knowledge structures, which in my view aims for the ‘dumbing down of society’.

The final limitation of this study is that I only used two examples of volunteer agencies. A larger corpus might help to substantiate the findings about these organisations and their role in reinforcing the elite identity of the volunteers. Similarly, in looking at the federal level organisations such as the POL foundation, it would be useful to also look into the mission statements or websites of the other organisations such as the Corporation for National and Community Service. All

these limitations can be viewed as suggestions for further research. A perspective of the service recipients will tell us more about how they position and view the service provided by the volunteers. This will give us a better understanding of the social responsibility that the service providers claim to have, their commitment to the community and efficiency in the service they perform. Bush's agenda aims to enlist faith and charitable organisations for the provisions of social services and shifts social responsibility to the people. When people are positioned as volunteers, this may involve any person in society. As the position does not incur any form of screening or scrutiny of the volunteers, this can lead to various kinds of mismanagement or misconduct. I illustrate this point with an example reported in CNN.com (27 April 2005).

In the CNN article, it is stated that three volunteers on border patrol duties that required them to spot illegal immigrants, were being investigated for allegations that they had held a Mexican immigrant against his will and forced him to pose for a picture holding a T-shirt with a mocking slogan. The example illustrates the argument about misconduct and mismanagement on the part of volunteers. Shifting social responsibility to people signifies putting the fate of the people in poverty into the hands of the volunteers. This can involve anyone from the good, kind people who really help and care about the people in poverty to others who may have biases, stereotyped views of the world and prejudices which can marginalise the people in poverty further. Berlo's (1960) quote used as the epigraph for this chapter further explains this point. Thus, investigating the activities of the volunteers will give us a better understanding of the outcomes of this policy.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

APPENDIX 1

GEORGE W. BUSH, 43rd President of the United States, President of the United States, President Bush

President Clinton, distinguished guests and my fellow citizens: this peaceful transfer of authority is rare in history, unprecedented in our country. With a single oath, we achieve our democratic aspirations and new beginnings.

As I begin, I thank President Clinton for his service to our Nation.

And I thank Vice President Gore for a spirited campaign, well fought and ended with grace.

I ask God to bless and guide America's 43rd President, President Bush, and his family.



THE WHITE HOUSE
PRESIDENT
GEORGE W. BUSH

We have a place, all of us, in a long story—a story we overlook, but which you and we will not see. It is the story of a people who at last become a nation, a member of the club of nations that has made the world a better place.

President George W. Bush's Inaugural Address

January 20, 2001

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/inaugural-address.html>

The greatest of these stories is an unfolding drama, an ongoing story that everyone belongs, that everyone has a role to play, and that we are all part of a great story.

Americans are called upon to live up to the promise of this great story, and to live up to the promise of this great story. And though our nation has achieved its goals, and though we have delayed, we must follow the other course.

Throughout the last century, Americans have been called upon to live up to the promise of this great story, and to live up to the promise of this great story. And though we have delayed, we must follow the other course.

Our democratic faith is strong, but the creed of our country is not. It is the faith of our people, an ideal we carry, but the faith of our people is not. And even after nearly 200 years, we have a long way yet to go.

While many of our citizens prosper, others share the pain, even the pain of our country. The American people are divided by failing schools and broken promises, and the American people are divided by failing schools and broken promises. And though we have delayed, we must follow the other course.

1 GEORGE W. BUSH: Chief Justice Rehnquist, President Carter,
2 President Bush...

3 President Clinton, distinguished guests and my fellow citizens, the
4 peaceful transfer of authority is rare in history, yet common in our
5 country. With a simple oath, we affirm old traditions and make new
6 beginnings.

7 As I begin, I thank President Clinton for his service to our nation.

8 And I thank Vice President Gore for a contest conducted with spirit
9 and ended with grace.

10 I am honored and humbled to stand here, where so many of
11 America's leaders have come before me, and so many will follow.

12 We have a place, all of us, in a long story--a story we continue, but
13 whose end we will not see. It is the story of a new world that became
14 a friend and liberator of the old, a story of a slave-holding society that
15 became a servant of freedom, the story of a power that went into the
16 world to protect but not possess, to defend but not to conquer.

17 It is the American story--a story of flawed and fallible people, united
18 across the generations by grand and enduring ideals.

19 The grandest of these ideals is an unfolding American promise that
20 everyone belongs, that everyone deserves a chance, that no
21 insignificant person was ever born.

22 Americans are called to enact this promise in our lives and in our
23 laws. And though our nation has sometimes halted, and sometimes
24 delayed, we must follow no other course.

25 Through much of the last century, America's faith in freedom and
26 democracy was a rock in a raging sea. Now it is a seed upon the wind,
27 taking root in many nations.

28 Our democratic faith is more than the creed of our country, it is the
29 inborn hope of our humanity, an ideal we carry but do not own, a
30 trust we bear and pass along. And even after nearly 225 years, we
31 have a long way yet to travel.

32 While many of our citizens prosper, others doubt the promise, even
33 the justice, of our own country. The ambitions of some Americans
34 are limited by failing schools and hidden prejudice and the
35 circumstances of their birth. And sometimes our differences run so
36 deep, it seems we share a continent, but not a country.

37 We do not accept this, and we will not allow it. Our unity, our union,
38 is the serious work of leaders and citizens in every generation. And
39 this is my solemn pledge: I will work to build a single nation of
40 justice and opportunity.

41 I know this is in our reach because we are guided by a power larger
42 than ourselves who creates us equal in His image.

43 And we are confident in principles that unite and lead us onward.

44 America has never been united by blood or birth or soil. We are
45 bound by ideals that move us beyond our backgrounds, lift us above
46 our interests and teach us what it means to be citizens. Every child
47 must be taught these principles. Every citizen must uphold them. And
48 every immigrant, by embracing these ideals, makes our country more,
49 not less, American.

50 Today, we affirm a new commitment to live out our nation's promise
51 through civility, courage, compassion and character.

52 America, at its best, matches a commitment to principle with a
53 concern for civility. A civil society demands from each of us good
54 will and respect, fair dealing and forgiveness.

55 Some seem to believe that our politics can afford to be petty because,
56 in a time of peace, the stakes of our debates appear small.

57 But the stakes for America are never small. If our country does not
58 lead the cause of freedom, it will not be led. If we do not turn the
59 hearts of children toward knowledge and character, we will lose their
60 gifts and undermine their idealism. If we permit our economy to drift
61 and decline, the vulnerable will suffer most.

62 We must live up to the calling we share. Civility is not a tactic or a
63 sentiment. It is the determined choice of trust over cynicism, of
64 community over chaos. And this commitment, if we keep it, is a way
65 to shared accomplishment.

66 America, at its best, is also courageous.

67 Our national courage has been clear in times of depression and war,
68 when defending common dangers defined our common good. Now
69 we must choose if the example of our fathers and mothers will inspire
70 us or condemn us. We must show courage in a time of blessing by
71 confronting problems instead of passing them on to future
72 generations.

73 Together, we will reclaim America's schools, before ignorance and
74 apathy claim more young lives.

75 We will reform Social Security and Medicare, sparing our children
76 from struggles we have the power to prevent. And we will reduce
77 taxes, to recover the momentum of our economy and reward the
78 effort and enterprise of working Americans.

79 We will build our defenses beyond challenge, lest weakness invite
80 challenge.

81 We will confront weapons of mass destruction, so that a new century
82 is spared new horrors.

83 The enemies of liberty and our country should make no mistake:
84 America remains engaged in the world by history and by choice,
85 shaping a balance of power that favors freedom. We will defend our
86 allies and our interests. We will show purpose without arrogance. We
87 will meet aggression and bad faith with resolve and strength. And to
88 all nations, we will speak for the values that gave our nation birth.

89 America, at its best, is compassionate. In the quiet of American
90 conscience, we know that deep, persistent poverty is unworthy of our
91 nation's promise.

92 And whatever our views of its cause, we can agree that children at
93 risk are not at fault. Abandonment and abuse are not acts of God,
94 they are failures of love.

95 And the proliferation of prisons, however necessary, is no substitute
96 for hope and order in our souls.

97 Where there is suffering, there is duty. Americans in need are not
98 strangers, they are citizens, not problems, but priorities. And all of us
99 are diminished when any are hopeless.

100 Government has great responsibilities for public safety and public
101 health, for civil rights and common schools. Yet compassion is the
102 work of a nation, not just a government.

103 And some needs and hurts are so deep they will only respond to a
104 mentor's touch or a pastor's prayer. Church and charity, synagogue
105 and mosque lend our communities their humanity, and they will have
106 an honored place in our plans and in our laws.

107 Many in our country do not know the pain of poverty, but we can
108 listen to those who do.

109 And I can pledge our nation to a goal: When we see that wounded
110 traveler on the road to Jericho, we will not pass to the other side.

111 America, at its best, is a place where personal responsibility is valued
112 and expected.

113 Encouraging responsibility is not a search for scapegoats, it is a call
114 to conscience. And though it requires sacrifice, it brings a deeper
115 fulfillment. We find the fullness of life not only in options, but in
116 commitments. And we find that children and community are the
117 commitments that set us free.

118 Our public interest depends on private character, on civic duty and
119 family bonds and basic fairness, on uncounted, unhonored acts of
120 decency which give direction to our freedom.

121 Sometimes in life we are called to do great things. But as a saint of
122 our times has said, every day we are called to do small things with
123 great love. The most important tasks of a democracy are done by
124 everyone.

125 I will live and lead by these principles: to advance my convictions
126 with civility, to pursue the public interest with courage, to speak for
127 greater justice and compassion, to call for responsibility and try to
128 live it as well.

129 In all these ways, I will bring the values of our history to the care of
130 our times.

131 What you do is as important as anything government does. I ask you
132 to seek a common good beyond your comfort; to defend needed
133 reforms against easy attacks; to serve your nation, beginning with
134 your neighbor. I ask you to be citizens: citizens, not spectators;
135 citizens, not subjects; responsible citizens, building communities of
136 service and a nation of character.

137 Americans are generous and strong and decent, not because we
138 believe in ourselves, but because we hold beliefs beyond ourselves.
139 When this spirit of citizenship is missing, no government program
140 can replace it. When this spirit is present, no wrong can stand against
141 it.

142 After the Declaration of Independence was signed, Virginia
143 statesman John Page wrote to Thomas Jefferson: ``We know the race
144 is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong. Do you not think an
145 angel rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm?"

146 Much time has passed since Jefferson arrived for his inauguration.
147 The years and changes accumulate. But the themes of this day he
148 would know: our nation's grand story of courage and its simple dream
149 of dignity.

150 We are not this story's author, who fills time and eternity with his
151 purpose. Yet his purpose is achieved in our duty, and our duty is
152 fulfilled in service to one another.

153 Never tiring, never yielding, never finishing, we renew that purpose
154 today, to make our country more just and generous, to affirm the
155 dignity of our lives and every life.

156 This work continues. This story goes on. And an angel still rides in
157 the whirlwind and directs this storm.

158 God bless you all, and God bless America.

APPENDIX 2



For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
January 29, 2002

President Delivers State of the Union Address

The President's State of the Union Address

The United States Capitol

Washington, D.C.

9:15 P.M. EST

(<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html>)

1 THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Mr. Speaker, Vice
2 President Cheney, members of Congress, distinguished guests, fellow
3 citizens: As we gather tonight, our nation is at war, our economy is
4 in recession, and the civilized world faces unprecedented
5 dangers. Yet the state of our Union has never been
6 stronger. (Applause.)

7 We last met in an hour of shock and suffering. In four short months,
8 our nation has comforted the victims, begun to rebuild New York and
9 the Pentagon, rallied a great coalition, captured, arrested, and rid the
10 world of thousands of terrorists, destroyed Afghanistan's terrorist
11 training camps, saved a people from starvation, and freed a country
12 from brutal oppression. (Applause.)

13 The American flag flies again over our embassy in Kabul. Terrorists
14 who once occupied Afghanistan now occupy cells at Guantanamo
15 Bay. (Applause.) And terrorist leaders who urged followers to
16 sacrifice their lives are running for their own. (Applause.)

17 America and Afghanistan are now allies against terror. We'll be
18 partners in rebuilding that country. And this evening we welcome the
19 distinguished interim leader of a liberated Afghanistan: Chairman
20 Hamid Karzai. (Applause.)

21 The last time we met in this chamber, the mothers and daughters of
22 Afghanistan were captives in their own homes, forbidden from
23 working or going to school. Today women are free, and are part of
24 Afghanistan's new government. And we welcome the new Minister
25 of Women's Affairs, Doctor Sima Samar. (Applause.)

26 Our progress is a tribute to the spirit of the Afghan people, to the
27 resolve of our coalition, and to the might of the United States
28 military. (Applause.) When I called our troops into action, I did so
29 with complete confidence in their courage and skill. And tonight,
30 thanks to them, we are winning the war on terror. (Applause.) The
31 man and women of our Armed Forces have delivered a message now
32 clear to every enemy of the United States: Even 7,000 miles away,
33 across oceans and continents, on mountaintops and in caves -- you
34 will not escape the justice of this nation. (Applause.)

35 For many Americans, these four months have brought sorrow, and
36 pain that will never completely go away. Every day a retired
37 firefighter returns to Ground Zero, to feel closer to his two sons who
38 died there. At a memorial in New York, a little boy left his football
39 with a note for his lost father: Dear Daddy, please take this to
40 heaven. I don't want to play football until I can play with you again
41 some day.

42 Last month, at the grave of her husband, Michael, a CIA officer and
43 Marine who died in Mazur-e-Sharif, Shannon Spann said these words

44 of farewell: "Semper Fi, my love." Shannon is with us
45 tonight. (Applause.)

46 Shannon, I assure you and all who have lost a loved one that our
47 cause is just, and our country will never forget the debt we owe
48 Michael and all who gave their lives for freedom.

49 Our cause is just, and it continues. Our discoveries in Afghanistan
50 confirmed our worst fears, and showed us the true scope of the task
51 ahead. We have seen the depth of our enemies' hatred in videos,
52 where they laugh about the loss of innocent life. And the depth of
53 their hatred is equaled by the madness of the destruction they
54 design. We have found diagrams of American nuclear power plants
55 and public water facilities, detailed instructions for making chemical
56 weapons, surveillance maps of American cities, and thorough
57 descriptions of landmarks in America and throughout the world.

58 What we have found in Afghanistan confirms that, far from ending
59 there, our war against terror is only beginning. Most of the 19 men
60 who hijacked planes on September the 11th were trained in
61 Afghanistan's camps, and so were tens of thousands of
62 others. Thousands of dangerous killers, schooled in the methods of
63 murder, often supported by outlaw regimes, are now spread
64 throughout the world like ticking time bombs, set to go off without
65 warning.

66 Thanks to the work of our law enforcement officials and coalition
67 partners, hundreds of terrorists have been arrested. Yet, tens of
68 thousands of trained terrorists are still at large. These enemies view
69 the entire world as a battlefield, and we must pursue them wherever
70 they are. (Applause.) So long as training camps operate, so long as
71 nations harbor terrorists, freedom is at risk. And America and our
72 allies must not, and will not, allow it. (Applause.)

73 Our nation will continue to be steadfast and patient and persistent in
74 the pursuit of two great objectives. First, we will shut down terrorist
75 camps, disrupt terrorist plans, and bring terrorists to justice. And,
76 second, we must prevent the terrorists and regimes who seek
77 chemical, biological or nuclear weapons from threatening the United
78 States and the world. (Applause.)

79 Our military has put the terror training camps of Afghanistan out of
80 business, yet camps still exist in at least a dozen countries. A
81 terrorist underworld -- including groups like Hamas, Hezbollah,
82 Islamic Jihad, Jaish-i-Mohammed -- operates in remote jungles and
83 deserts, and hides in the centers of large cities.

84 While the most visible military action is in Afghanistan, America is
85 acting elsewhere. We now have troops in the Philippines, helping to
86 train that country's armed forces to go after terrorist cells that have

87 executed an American, and still hold hostages. Our soldiers, working
88 with the Bosnian government, seized terrorists who were plotting to
89 bomb our embassy. Our Navy is patrolling the coast of Africa to
90 block the shipment of weapons and the establishment of terrorist
91 camps in Somalia.

92 My hope is that all nations will heed our call, and eliminate the
93 terrorist parasites who threaten their countries and our own. Many
94 nations are acting forcefully. Pakistan is now cracking down on
95 terror, and I admire the strong leadership of President
96 Musharraf. (Applause.)

97 But some governments will be timid in the face of terror. And make
98 no mistake about it: If they do not act, America will. (Applause.)

99 Our second goal is to prevent regimes that sponsor terror from
100 threatening America or our friends and allies with weapons of mass
101 destruction. Some of these regimes have been pretty quiet since
102 September the 11th. But we know their true nature. North Korea is a
103 regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while
104 starving its citizens.

105 Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an
106 unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom.

107 Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support
108 terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax, and nerve gas,
109 and nuclear weapons for over a decade. This is a regime that has
110 already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens --
111 leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their dead children. This
112 is a regime that agreed to international inspections -- then kicked out
113 the inspectors. This is a regime that has something to hide from the
114 civilized world.

115 States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil,
116 arming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of
117 mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing
118 danger. They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the
119 means to match their hatred. They could attack our allies or attempt
120 to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the price of
121 indifference would be catastrophic.

122 We will work closely with our coalition to deny terrorists and their
123 state sponsors the materials, technology, and expertise to make and
124 deliver weapons of mass destruction. We will develop and deploy
125 effective missile defenses to protect America and our allies from
126 sudden attack. (Applause.) And all nations should know: America
127 will do what is necessary to ensure our nation's security.

128 We'll be deliberate, yet time is not on our side. I will not wait on
129 events, while dangers gather. I will not stand by, as peril draws
130 closer and closer. The United States of America will not permit the
131 world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most
132 destructive weapons. (Applause.)

133 Our war on terror is well begun, but it is only begun. This campaign
134 may not be finished on our watch -- yet it must be and it will be
135 waged on our watch.

136 We can't stop short. If we stop now -- leaving terror camps intact and
137 terror states unchecked -- our sense of security would be false and
138 temporary. History has called America and our allies to action, and it
139 is both our responsibility and our privilege to fight freedom's
140 fight. (Applause.)

141 Our first priority must always be the security of our nation, and that
142 will be reflected in the budget I send to Congress. My budget
143 supports three great goals for America: We will win this war; we'll
144 protect our homeland; and we will revive our economy.

145 September the 11th brought out the best in America, and the best in
146 this Congress. And I join the American people in applauding your
147 unity and resolve. (Applause.) Now Americans deserve to have this
148 same spirit directed toward addressing problems here at home. I'm a
149 proud member of my party -- yet as we act to win the war, protect our
150 people, and create jobs in America, we must act, first and foremost,
151 not as Republicans, not as Democrats, but as Americans. (Applause.)

152 It costs a lot to fight this war. We have spent more than a billion
153 dollars a month -- over \$30 million a day -- and we must be prepared
154 for future operations. Afghanistan proved that expensive precision
155 weapons defeat the enemy and spare innocent lives, and we need
156 more of them. We need to replace aging aircraft and make our
157 military more agile, to put our troops anywhere in the world quickly
158 and safely. Our men and women in uniform deserve the best
159 weapons, the best equipment, the best training -- and they also
160 deserve another pay raise. (Applause.)

161 My budget includes the largest increase in defense spending in two
162 decades -- because while the price of freedom and security is high, it
163 is never too high. Whatever it costs to defend our country, we will
164 pay. (Applause.)

165 The next priority of my budget is to do everything possible to protect
166 our citizens and strengthen our nation against the ongoing threat of
167 another attack. Time and distance from the events of September the
168 11th will not make us safer unless we act on its lessons. America is
169 no longer protected by vast oceans. We are protected from attack
170 only by vigorous action abroad, and increased vigilance at home.

171 My budget nearly doubles funding for a sustained strategy of
172 homeland security, focused on four key areas: bioterrorism,
173 emergency response, airport and border security, and improved
174 intelligence. We will develop vaccines to fight anthrax and other
175 deadly diseases. We'll increase funding to help states and
176 communities train and equip our heroic police and
177 firefighters. (Applause.) We will improve intelligence collection and
178 sharing, expand patrols at our borders, strengthen the security of air
179 travel, and use technology to track the arrivals and departures of
180 visitors to the United States. (Applause.)

181 Homeland security will make America not only stronger, but, in
182 many ways, better. Knowledge gained from bioterrorism research
183 will improve public health. Stronger police and fire departments will
184 mean safer neighborhoods. Stricter border enforcement will help
185 combat illegal drugs. (Applause.) And as government works to
186 better secure our homeland, America will continue to depend on the
187 eyes and ears of alert citizens.

188 A few days before Christmas, an airline flight attendant spotted a
189 passenger lighting a match. The crew and passengers quickly
190 subdued the man, who had been trained by al Qaeda and was armed
191 with explosives. The people on that plane were alert and, as a result,
192 likely saved nearly 200 lives. And tonight we welcome and thank
193 flight attendants Hermis Moutardier and Christina Jones. (Applause.)

194 Once we have funded our national security and our homeland
195 security, the final great priority of my budget is economic security for
196 the American people. (Applause.) To achieve these great national
197 objectives -- to win the war, protect the homeland, and revitalize our
198 economy -- our budget will run a deficit that will be small and short-
199 term, so long as Congress restrains spending and acts in a fiscally
200 responsible manner. (Applause.) We have clear priorities and we
201 must act at home with the same purpose and resolve we have shown
202 overseas: We'll prevail in the war, and we will defeat this
203 recession. (Applause.)

204 Americans who have lost their jobs need our help and I support
205 extending unemployment benefits and direct assistance for health
206 care coverage. (Applause.) Yet, American workers want more than
207 unemployment checks -- they want a steady
208 paycheck. (Applause.) When America works, America prospers, so
209 my economic security plan can be summed up in one
210 word: jobs. (Applause.)

211 Good jobs begin with good schools, and here we've made a fine
212 start. (Applause.) Republicans and Democrats worked together to
213 achieve historic education reform so that no child is left behind. I
214 was proud to work with members of both parties: Chairman John
215 Boehner and Congressman George Miller. (Applause.) Senator Judd

216 Gregg. (Applause.) And I was so proud of our work, I even had nice
217 things to say about my friend, Ted Kennedy. (Laughter and
218 applause.) I know the folks at the Crawford coffee shop couldn't
219 believe I'd say such a thing -- (laughter) -- but our work on this bill
220 shows what is possible if we set aside posturing and focus on
221 results. (Applause.)

222 There is more to do. We need to prepare our children to read and
223 succeed in school with improved Head Start and early childhood
224 development programs. (Applause.) We must upgrade our teacher
225 colleges and teacher training and launch a major recruiting drive with
226 a great goal for America: a quality teacher in every
227 classroom. (Applause.)

228 Good jobs also depend on reliable and affordable energy. This
229 Congress must act to encourage conservation, promote technology,
230 build infrastructure, and it must act to increase energy production at
231 home so America is less dependent on foreign oil. (Applause.)

232 Good jobs depend on expanded trade. Selling into new markets
233 creates new jobs, so I ask Congress to finally approve trade
234 promotion authority. (Applause.) On these two key issues, trade and
235 energy, the House of Representatives has acted to create jobs, and I
236 urge the Senate to pass this legislation. (Applause.)

237 Good jobs depend on sound tax policy. (Applause.) Last year, some
238 in this hall thought my tax relief plan was too small; some thought it
239 was too big. (Applause.) But when the checks arrived in the mail,
240 most Americans thought tax relief was just about
241 right. (Applause.) Congress listened to the people and responded by
242 reducing tax rates, doubling the child credit, and ending the death
243 tax. For the sake of long-term growth and to help Americans plan for
244 the future, let's make these tax cuts permanent. (Applause.)

245 The way out of this recession, the way to create jobs, is to grow the
246 economy by encouraging investment in factories and equipment, and
247 by speeding up tax relief so people have more money to spend. For
248 the sake of American workers, let's pass a stimulus
249 package. (Applause.)

250 Good jobs must be the aim of welfare reform. As we reauthorize
251 these important reforms, we must always remember the goal is to
252 reduce dependency on government and offer every American the
253 dignity of a job. (Applause.)

254 Americans know economic security can vanish in an instant without
255 health security. I ask Congress to join me this year to enact a
256 patients' bill of rights -- (applause) -- to give uninsured workers
257 credits to help buy health coverage -- (applause) -- to approve an
258 historic increase in the spending for veterans' health -- (applause) --

259 and to give seniors a sound and modern Medicare system that
 260 includes coverage for prescription drugs. (Applause.)

261 A good job should lead to security in retirement. I ask Congress to
 262 enact new safeguards for 401K and pension
 263 plans. (Applause.) Employees who have worked hard and saved all
 264 their lives should not have to risk losing everything if their company
 265 fails. (Applause.) Through stricter accounting standards and tougher
 266 disclosure requirements, corporate America must be made more
 267 accountable to employees and shareholders and held to the highest
 268 standards of conduct. (Applause.)

269 Retirement security also depends upon keeping the commitments of
 270 Social Security, and we will. We must make Social Security
 271 financially stable and allow personal retirement accounts for younger
 272 workers who choose them. (Applause.)

273 Members, you and I will work together in the months ahead on other
 274 issues: productive farm policy -- (applause) -- a cleaner environment
 275 -- (applause) -- broader home ownership, especially among minorities
 276 -- (applause) -- and ways to encourage the good work of charities and
 277 faith-based groups. (Applause.) I ask you to join me on these
 278 important domestic issues in the same spirit of cooperation we've
 279 applied to our war against terrorism. (Applause.)

280 During these last few months, I've been humbled and privileged to
 281 see the true character of this country in a time of testing. Our
 282 enemies believed America was weak and materialistic, that we would
 283 splinter in fear and selfishness. They were as wrong as they are
 284 evil. (Applause.)

285 The American people have responded magnificently, with courage
 286 and compassion, strength and resolve. As I have met the heroes,
 287 hugged the families, and looked into the tired faces of rescuers, I
 288 have stood in awe of the American people.

289 And I hope you will join me -- I hope you will join me in expressing
 290 thanks to one American for the strength and calm and comfort she
 291 brings to our nation in crisis, our First Lady, Laura Bush. (Applause.)

292 None of us would ever wish the evil that was done on September the
 293 11th. Yet after America was attacked, it was as if our entire country
 294 looked into a mirror and saw our better selves. We were reminded
 295 that we are citizens, with obligations to each other, to our country,
 296 and to history. We began to think less of the goods we can
 297 accumulate, and more about the good we can do.

298 For too long our culture has said, "If it feels good, do it." Now
 299 America is embracing a new ethic and a new creed: "Let's roll."
 300 (Applause.) In the sacrifice of soldiers, the fierce brotherhood of

301 firefighters, and the bravery and generosity of ordinary citizens, we
302 have glimpsed what a new culture of responsibility could look
303 like. We want to be a nation that serves goals larger than self. We've
304 been offered a unique opportunity, and we must not let this moment
305 pass. (Applause.)

306 My call tonight is for every American to commit at least two years --
307 4,000 hours over the rest of your lifetime -- to the service of your
308 neighbors and your nation. (Applause.) Many are already serving,
309 and I thank you. If you aren't sure how to help, I've got a good place
310 to start. To sustain and extend the best that has emerged in America,
311 I invite you to join the new USA Freedom Corps. The Freedom
312 Corps will focus on three areas of need: responding in case of crisis
313 at home; rebuilding our communities; and extending American
314 compassion throughout the world.

315 One purpose of the USA Freedom Corps will be homeland security.
316 America needs retired doctors and nurses who can be mobilized in
317 major emergencies; volunteers to help police and fire departments;
318 transportation and utility workers well-trained in spotting danger.

319 Our country also needs citizens working to rebuild our
320 communities. We need mentors to love children, especially children
321 whose parents are in prison. And we need more talented teachers in
322 troubled schools. USA Freedom Corps will expand and improve the
323 good efforts of AmeriCorps and Senior Corps to recruit more than
324 200,000 new volunteers.

325 And America needs citizens to extend the compassion of our country
326 to every part of the world. So we will renew the promise of the Peace
327 Corps, double its volunteers over the next five years -- (applause) --
328 and ask it to join a new effort to encourage development and
329 education and opportunity in the Islamic world. (Applause.)

330 This time of adversity offers a unique moment of opportunity -- a
331 moment we must seize to change our culture. Through the gathering
332 momentum of millions of acts of service and decency and kindness, I
333 know we can overcome evil with greater good. (Applause.) And we
334 have a great opportunity during this time of war to lead the world
335 toward the values that will bring lasting peace.

336 All fathers and mothers, in all societies, want their children to be
337 educated, and live free from poverty and violence. No people on
338 Earth yearn to be oppressed, or aspire to servitude, or eagerly await
339 the midnight knock of the secret police.

340 If anyone doubts this, let them look to Afghanistan, where the Islamic
341 "street" greeted the fall of tyranny with song and celebration. Let the
342 skeptics look to Islam's own rich history, with its centuries of
343 learning, and tolerance and progress. America will lead by defending

344 liberty and justice because they are right and true and unchanging for
345 all people everywhere. (Applause.)

346 No nation owns these aspirations, and no nation is exempt from
347 them. We have no intention of imposing our culture. But America
348 will always stand firm for the non-negotiable demands of human
349 dignity: the rule of law; limits on the power of the state; respect for
350 women; private property; free speech; equal justice; and religious
351 tolerance. (Applause.)

352 America will take the side of brave men and women who advocate
353 these values around the world, including the Islamic world, because
354 we have a greater objective than eliminating threats and containing
355 resentment. We seek a just and peaceful world beyond the war on
356 terror.

357 In this moment of opportunity, a common danger is erasing old
358 rivalries. America is working with Russia and China and India, in
359 ways we have never before, to achieve peace and prosperity. In
360 every region, free markets and free trade and free societies are
361 proving their power to lift lives. Together with friends and allies
362 from Europe to Asia, and Africa to Latin America, we will
363 demonstrate that the forces of terror cannot stop the momentum of
364 freedom. (Applause.)

365 The last time I spoke here, I expressed the hope that life would return
366 to normal. In some ways, it has. In others, it never will. Those of us
367 who have lived through these challenging times have been changed
368 by them. We've come to know truths that we will never
369 question: evil is real, and it must be opposed. (Applause.) Beyond
370 all differences of race or creed, we are one country, mourning
371 together and facing danger together. Deep in the American character,
372 there is honor, and it is stronger than cynicism. And many have
373 discovered again that even in tragedy -- especially in tragedy -- God
374 is near. (Applause.)

375 In a single instant, we realized that this will be a decisive decade in
376 the history of liberty, that we've been called to a unique role in human
377 events. Rarely has the world faced a choice more clear or
378 consequential.

379 Our enemies send other people's children on missions of suicide and
380 murder. They embrace tyranny and death as a cause and a creed. We
381 stand for a different choice, made long ago, on the day of our
382 founding. We affirm it again today. We choose freedom and the
383 dignity of every life. (Applause.)

384 Steadfast in our purpose, we now press on. We have known
385 freedom's price. We have shown freedom's power. And in this great
386 conflict, my fellow Americans, we will see freedom's victory.

387 Thank you all. May God bless. (Applause.)

388 END 10:03 P.M. EST

APPENDIX 3

APPENDIX 3

THE PRESIDENT: Well, thank you very much for that warm
welcome. Let me greet you on behalf of the Communications Club and the
Churchill Club for inviting me here. I appreciate you all coming and
I hope you enjoy yourselves.

I want to thank Dr. Gloria Duffy for setting up the introduction and
for her invitation. I want to thank Maria Fernandez, who's the
President of the Churchill Club, for joining the Communications Club
to host this event. I want to thank all the individuals and groups who are
here today to thank my fellow citizens for coming.



THE WHITE HOUSE
PRESIDENT
GEORGE W. BUSH

Whenever I visit California, I am struck by the beauty of this state
and by the spirit of its people. I am struck by the health of the
California economy, by the innovation of its people, and I will be sure to
get a lot of good ideas from all of you. Thank you very much.

For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
April 30, 2002

The last time I visited San Jose, I was still in my
mountain town, and I was still in my first year in this office.

President Promotes Compassionate Conservatism

good news. Our country is doing very well. I am sure you
had the good news about the economy. The good
news about the economy is that it is doing very well.

Parkside Hall
San Jose, California

10:35 A.M. PDT

(<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/04/20020430-5.html>)

We have a great future ahead of us. We have a great future ahead of us.
We have a great future ahead of us. We have a great future ahead of us.
We have a great future ahead of us. We have a great future ahead of us.

It's important to be a president. And I'm not alone in the
ability of Americans to compete and prosper in the
world. I'm confident that our future and prosperity are bright in the
world. And I know Americans will only be competitive in the best in
the world. And we will only be a nation so they can be in the
world. (Applause)

Our economy grows when the tax burden goes down, and wages go up.
(Applause.) Much of the growth we designed this quarter is the
result of corporate spending, fueled by well-known tax deductions.
(Laughter.) To encourage growth in job creation, we have passed the
new tax rules we've passed, and we have taken these provisions

1 THE PRESIDENT: Well, thank you very much for that warm
2 welcome. I am so grateful for the Commonwealth Club and the
3 Churchill Club for inviting me here. I appreciate you all coming, and
4 I appreciate your hospitality.

5 I want to thank Dr. Gloria Duffy for her generous introduction and
6 for her invitation. I want to thank Silvia Fernandez, who's the
7 President of the Churchill Club, for joining the Commonwealth Club
8 to host this event. I want to thank all the elected officials who are
9 here. I want to thank my fellow citizens for coming.

10 Whenever I visit California, I'm impressed by the beauty of this state
11 and by the spirit of the people. Because of its size, the health of the
12 California economy influences every American. And California has
13 got a culture of optimism and energy that touches all of us, as well.
14 This is a vital and a vibrant place. And I'm glad to be back.
15 (Applause.)

16 The last time I visited San Jose, Silicon Valley was still in an
17 economic boom, and America was at peace. For many in this valley,
18 and across our country, those times are a world away. After a
19 recession made worse by a national emergency, we have seen some
20 good news. Our economy is beginning to grow. Just last week, we
21 had the good news about strong growth in the first quarter. Yet this
22 vital region reminds us that a lot of work remains to be done.

23 Business investment and job creation are not what they should be.
24 We cannot be content with one quarter's news. We cannot be
25 complacent. My attitude is that we'll let the statisticians talk about the
26 numbers. But so long as somebody who wants to work can't find
27 work, that's a problem for America. (Applause.)

28 We have a great task ahead of us. We must turn our short-term
29 recovery into long-lasting expansion that reaches every part of our
30 country. Our economy grows when trade barriers fall. I ask the
31 Senate to join the United States House of Representatives in giving
32 me what's called trade promotion authority. (Applause.)

33 It's important to be a confident country. And I'm confident in the
34 ability of American entrepreneurs and producers to compete in the
35 world. I'm confident that our farmers and ranchers can compete in the
36 world. And I know American technology companies are the best in
37 the world. And we must open new markets so they can sell to the
38 world. (Applause.)

39 Our economy grows when the tax burden goes down, and stays down.
40 (Applause.) Much of the growth we have seen this quarter is the
41 result of consumer spending, fueled by well-timed tax deductions.
42 (Laughter.) To encourage growth in job creation, we must protect the
43 lower tax rates we've enacted, and we must make them permanent.

44 (Applause.) And to make sure there is economic vitality around our
45 country, our government must control its appetite for excessive
46 spending. (Applause.)

47 Our economy grows entrepreneurs are rewarded for their success, not
48 hounded by regulations and needless litigation. (Applause.) We must
49 enact reforms that free entrepreneurs from pointless regulation and
50 endless litigation, and to restore trust in our economy. Corporate
51 leaders must be held to the highest ethical standards. (Applause.) And,
52 as your state knows, our economy grows when we have steady, stable
53 and affordable sources of energy. (Applause.)

54 In Washington, we must adopt -- finally adopt -- a comprehensive
55 strategy to conserve more, to produce more, and to deliver the energy
56 that keeps our economy running. (Applause.) Both Houses have
57 passed an energy -- passed energy legislation. I expect them to get a
58 bill to my desk soon for the good of American economy and
59 American jobs. (Applause.) By acting in the above way, we confirm
60 that the role of government is not to create wealth; the role of
61 government is to create the conditions for economic growth.

62 Since I was last here, America has also accepted a great challenge in
63 the world: to wage a relentless and systematic campaign against
64 global terror. (Applause.) The security of the American people is the
65 central commitment of the American government. We are in for a
66 long and difficult war. It will be conducted on many fronts. But as
67 long as it takes, we will prevail. (Applause.)

68 In the first phase of our military operation, American and coalition
69 forces have liberated -- have liberated -- the people of Afghanistan
70 from a barbaric regime. (Applause.) Our Armed Forces performed
71 with skill and success and honor. A regime has fallen. Terrorists in
72 that country are now scattered, and the children of Afghanistan have
73 returned to school, boys and girls. (Applause.) Our work in that
74 country is not over. We are helping the Afghan people to rebuild their
75 nation. And in every cave, in every dark corner of that country, we
76 will hunt down the killers and bring them to justice. (Applause.)

77 We have entered the next phase of the war, with a sustained
78 international effort, to rout out terrorists in other countries, and deny
79 al Qaeda the chance to regroup in other places. Across the world,
80 governments have heard this message: You're either with us, or
81 you're with the terrorists. (Applause.)

82 And for the long-term security of America and civilization itself, we
83 must confront the great threat of biological and chemical and nuclear
84 weapons in the hands of terrorists or hostile regimes. We will not
85 allow the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten America or our
86 friends and allies with the world's most destructive weapons.
87 (Applause.)

88 History has called us to these responsibilities, and we accept them.
89 America has always had a special mission to defend justice and
90 advance freedom around the world. Whatever the difficulties ahead,
91 we are confident about the outcome of this struggle. Tyranny and
92 terror and lawless violence will not decide the world's future. As
93 Ronald Reagan said, and as every generation of Americans has
94 believed, the future belongs to the free. (Applause.)

95 In a time of war, we reassert the essential values and beliefs of our
96 country. In the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln pointed toward a new
97 birth of freedom. Leading America into global war, Franklin D.
98 Roosevelt defined the four freedoms: freedom of speech and religion,
99 freedom from fear and want. Whenever America fights for the
100 security of our country, we also fight for the values of our country. In
101 our time, we will defend the land we love and we will act on the
102 ideals that gave it birth.

103 In America, we've not always lived up to our ideals, yet we always
104 reached for them. We believe that everyone deserves a chance, that
105 everyone has value, that no insignificant person was ever born. We
106 believe that all are diminished when any are hopeless. We are one
107 people, committed to building a single nation of justice and
108 opportunity. (Applause.)

109 America rejects bigotry. (Applause.) We reject every act of hatred
110 against people of Arab background or Muslim faith. (Applause.) We
111 reject the ancient evil of anti-Semitism, whether it is practiced by the
112 killers of Daniel Pearl, or by those who burn synagogues in France.
113 (Applause.)

114 America values and welcomes peaceful people of all faiths --
115 Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu and many others. Every faith
116 is practiced and protected here, because we are one country. Every
117 immigrant can be fully and equally American because we're one
118 country. Race and color should not divide us, because America is one
119 country. (Applause.)

120 These American ideals of opportunity and equality come to us across
121 the generations. And they have attracted millions from across the
122 world. Yet there are young Americans growing up here, under this
123 flag, who doubt the promise and justice of our country. They live in
124 neighborhoods occupied by gangs and ruled by fear. They are entitled
125 by law to an education, yet do not receive an education. They hear
126 talk of opportunity and see little evidence of opportunity around them.

127 Every American must believe in the promise of America. And to
128 reach this noble, necessary goal, there is a role for government.
129 America doesn't need more big government, and we've learned that
130 more money is not always the answer. If a program is failing to serve

131 the people, it makes little difference if we spend twice as much or
132 half as much. The measure of true compassion is results.

133 Yet we cannot have an indifferent government either. We are a
134 generous and caring people. We don't believe in a sink-or-swim
135 society. The policies of our government must heed the universal call
136 of all faiths to love a neighbor as we would want to be loved
137 ourselves. We need a different approach than either big government
138 or indifferent government. We need a government that is focused,
139 effective, and close to the people; a government that does a few
140 things, and does them well. (Applause.)

141 Government cannot solve every problem, but it can encourage people
142 and communities to help themselves and to help one another. Often
143 the truest kind of compassion is to help citizens build lives of their
144 own. I call my philosophy and approach "compassionate
145 conservatism." It is compassionate to actively help our fellow citizens
146 in need. It is conservative to insist on responsibility and on results.
147 And with this hopeful approach, we can make a real difference in
148 people's lives. (Applause.)

149 Compassionate conservatism places great hope and confidence in
150 public education. Our economy depends on higher and higher skills,
151 requiring every American to have the basic tools of learning. Every
152 public school should be the path of upward mobility.

153 Yet, sadly enough, many are at dead-end of dreams. Public schools
154 are some of the most important institutions of democracy. (Applause.)
155 They take children of every background, from every part of the world,
156 and prepare them for the obligations and opportunities of a free
157 society. Public schools are Americans great hope, and making them
158 work for every child is America's great duty.

159 The new education reforms we have passed in Washington give the
160 federal government a new role in public education. Schools must
161 meet new and high standards of performance in reading and math that
162 will be proven on tests and posted on the Internet for parents and
163 everyone to see. And we're giving local schools and teachers
164 unprecedented freedom and resources and training to meet these
165 goals.

166 It is conservative to let local communities chart their own path to
167 excellence. It is compassionate to insist that every child learns, so
168 that no child is left behind. (Applause.) By insisting on results, and
169 challenging failure where we find it, we'll make an incredible
170 difference in the lives of every child in America.

171 Compassionate conservatism offers a new vision for fighting poverty
172 in America. For decades, our nation has devoted enormous resources
173 to helping the poor, with some great successes to show for it: basic

174 medical care for those in need, a better life for elderly Americans.
175 However, for millions of younger Americans, welfare became a static
176 and destructive way of life.

177 In 1996, we began transforming welfare with time limits and job
178 training and work requirements. And the nation's welfare rolls have
179 been cut by more than half. But even more importantly, many lives
180 have been dramatically improved.

181 One former welfare recipient here in California, happened to be a
182 mother of a chronically-ill child and the victim of domestic violence,
183 describes her experience upon leaving welfare. She said, "I feel like
184 an adult again. I have my dignity back."

185 We need to continue to fully transform welfare in America. As
186 Congress takes up welfare reform again in the coming weeks, we
187 must strengthen the work requirements that prevent dependency and
188 despair. Millions of Americans once on welfare are finding that a job
189 is more than a source of income. It is a source of dignity. And by
190 helping people find work, by helping them prepare for work, we
191 practice compassion.

192 Welfare reform must also, wherever possible, encourage the
193 commitments of family. Not every child has two devoted parents at
194 home -- I understand that. And not every marriage can, or should be
195 saved. But the evidence shows that strong marriages are good for
196 children. (Applause.)

197 When a couple on welfare wants to break bad patterns and start or
198 strengthen a marriage, we should help local groups give them
199 counseling that teaches commitment and respect. By encouraging
200 family, we practice compassion.

201 In overcoming poverty and dependence, we must also promote the
202 work of charities and community groups and faith-based institutions.
203 These organizations, such as shelters for battered women or
204 mentoring programs for fatherless children or drug treatment centers,
205 inspire hope in a way that government never can. Often, they inspire
206 life-changing faith in a way that government never should.

207 Our government should view the good Americans that work in faith-
208 based charities as partners, not rivals. (Applause.) We must provide
209 new incentives for charitable giving and, when it comes to providing
210 federal resources to effective programs, we should not discriminate
211 against private and religious groups. (Applause.)

212 I urge the Senate to pass the faith-based initiative for the good of
213 America. It is compassionate to aggressively fight poverty in
214 America. It is conservative to encourage work and community spirit
215 and responsibility and the values that often come from faith. And

216 with this approach, we can change lives one soul at a time, and make
217 a real difference in the lives of our citizens.

218 The same principles of compassion and responsibility apply when
219 America offers assistance to other nations. Nearly half of the world's
220 people still live on less than \$2 a day. When we help them, we show
221 our values, our belief in universal human dignity. We serve our
222 interests and gain economic partners. And by helping the developing
223 nations of the world, we offer an alternative to resentment and
224 conflict and terror.

225 Yet the old way of pouring vast amounts of money into development
226 aid without any concern for results has failed, often leaving behind
227 misery and poverty and corruption. America's offering a new
228 compact for global development. Greater aid contributions from
229 America must be and will be linked to greater responsibility from
230 developing nations. (Applause.)

231 I have proposed a 50-percent increase in our core development
232 assistance over the next three budget years. Money that will be placed
233 in a new Millennium Challenge Account. At the end of this three-
234 year period, the level of our annual development assistance will be \$5
235 billion higher than current levels.

236 This is a record amount of spending. And in return for these funds,
237 we expect nations to rout out corruption, to open their markets, to
238 respect human rights, and to adhere to the rule of law. And these are
239 the keys to progress in any nation, and they will be the conditions for
240 any new American aid. (Applause.)

241 It is compassionate to increase our international aid. It is conservative
242 to require the hard reforms that lead to prosperity and independence.
243 And with this approach, we'll make a real difference in the lives of
244 people around the world.

245 Compassionate conservatism guides my administration in many other
246 areas. Our health care policies must help low-income Americans to
247 buy health insurance they choose, they own and they control.
248 (Applause.) Our environmental policy set high standards for
249 stewardship, while allowing local cooperation and innovation to meet
250 those standards. Our housing programs moved beyond rental
251 assistance to the pride and stability of home ownership. Our reforms
252 in Social Security must allow and encourage and help working
253 Americans to build up their own asset base and achieve independence
254 for their retirement years. (Applause.)

255 All of these policies and all of these areas serve the same vision. We
256 are using an active government to promote self-government. We're
257 encouraging individuals and communities and families to take more
258 and more responsibility for themselves, for their neighbors, for our

259 nation. The aim of these policies is not to spend more money or
260 spend less money; it is to spend on what works.

261 The measure of compassion is more than good intentions, it is good
262 results. Sympathy is not enough. We need solutions in America, and
263 we know where solutions are found. When schools are teaching,
264 when families are strong, when neighbors look after their neighbors,
265 when our people have the tools and the skills and the resources they
266 need to improve their lives, there is no problem that cannot be solved
267 in America. (Applause.)

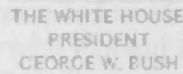
268 By being involved and by taking responsibility upon ourselves, we
269 gain something else, as well: We contribute to the life of our country.
270 We become more than taxpayers and occasional voters, we become
271 citizens. Citizens, not spectators. Citizens who hear the call of duty,
272 who stand up for their beliefs, who care for their families, who
273 control their lives, and who treat their neighbors with respect and
274 compassion. We discover a satisfaction that is only found in service,
275 and we show our gratitude to America and to those who came before
276 us.

277 In the last seven months, we've been tested, and the struggle of our
278 time has revealed the spirit of our people. Since September the 11th,
279 we have been the kind of nation our founders had in mind, a nation of
280 strong and confident and self-governing people. And we've been the
281 kind of nation our fathers and mothers defended in World War II; a
282 great and diverse country, united by common dangers and by
283 common resolve.

284 We in our time will defend our nation, and we will deliver our
285 nation's promise to all who seek it. In our war on terror, we are
286 showing the world the strength of our country, and by our unity and
287 tolerance and compassion, we will show the world the soul of our
288 country. May God bless America. (Applause.)

289 END 11:12 A.M. PDT

APPENDIX 4



Remarks by the President in Commencement Address University of Notre Dame Notre Dame, Indiana

(<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/05/20010521-1.html>)

1 THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Father Malloy. Thank you all for that
2 warm welcome. Chairman McCartan, Father Scully, Dr. Hatch, Notre
3 Dame trustees, members of the class of 2001. (Applause.) It is a high
4 privilege to receive this degree. I'm particularly pleased that it bears
5 the great name of Notre Dame. My brother, Jeb, may be the Catholic
6 in the family -- (laughter) -- but between us, I'm the only Domer.
7 (Laughter and applause.)

8 I have spoken on this campus once before. It was in 1980, the year
9 my Dad ran for Vice President with Ronald Reagan. I think I really
10 won over the crowd that day. (Laughter.) In fact, I'm sure of it,
11 because all six of them walked me to my car. (Laughter.)

12 That was back when Father Hesburgh was president of this university,
13 during a tenure that in many ways defined the reputation and values
14 of Notre Dame. It's a real honor to be with Father Hesburgh, and with
15 Father Joyce. Between them, these two good priests have given
16 nearly a century of service to Notre Dame. I'm told that Father
17 Hesburgh now holds 146 honorary degrees. (Applause.) That's pretty
18 darn impressive, Father, but I'm gaining on you. (Laughter.) As of
19 today, I'm only 140 behind. (Laughter.)

20 Let me congratulate all the members of the class of 2001. (Applause.)
21 You made it, and we're all proud of you on this big day. I also
22 congratulate the parents, who, after these years, are happy, proud --
23 and broke. (Laughter and applause.)

24 I commend this fine faculty, for the years of work and instruction that
25 produced this outstanding class.

26 And I'm pleased to join my fellow honorees, as well. I'm in incredibly
27 distinguished company with authors, executives, educators, church
28 officials and an eminent scientist. We're sharing a memorable day
29 and a great honor, and I congratulate you all. (Applause.)

30 Notre Dame, as a Catholic university, carries forward a great tradition
31 of social teaching. It calls on all of us, Catholic and non-Catholic, to
32 honor family, to protect life in all its stages, to serve and uplift the
33 poor. This university is more than a community of scholars, it is a
34 community of conscience -- and an ideal place to report on our
35 nation's commitment to the poor, and how we're keeping it.

36 In 1964, the year I started college, another President from Texas
37 delivered a commencement address talking about this national
38 commitment. In that speech, President Lyndon Johnson issued a
39 challenge. He said, "This is the time for decision. You are the
40 generation which must decide. Will you decide to leave the future a
41 society where a man is condemned to hopelessness because he was
42 born poor? Or will you join to wipe out poverty in this land?"

43 In that speech, Lyndon Johnson advocated a War on Poverty which
44 had noble intentions and some enduring successes. Poor families got
45 basic health care; disadvantaged children were given a head start in
46 life. Yet, there were also some consequences that no one wanted or
47 intended. The welfare entitlement became an enemy of personal
48 effort and responsibility, turning many recipients into dependents.
49 The War on Poverty also turned too many citizens into bystanders,
50 convinced that compassion had become the work of government
51 alone.

52 In 1996, welfare reform confronted the first of these problems, with a
53 five-year time limit on benefits, and a work requirement to receive
54 them. Instead of a way of life, welfare became an offer of temporary
55 help -- not an entitlement, but a transition. Thanks in large part to this
56 change, welfare rolls have been cut in half. Work and self-respect
57 have been returned to many lives. That is a tribute to the Republicans
58 and democrats who agreed on reform, and to the President who
59 signed it: President Bill Clinton. (Applause.)

60 Our nation has confronted welfare dependency. But our work is only
61 half done. Now we must confront the second problem: to revive the
62 spirit of citizenship -- to marshal the compassion of our people to
63 meet the continuing needs of our nation. This is a challenge to my
64 administration, and to each one of you. We must meet that challenge
65 -- because it is right, and because it is urgent.

66 Welfare as we knew it has ended, but poverty has not. When over 12
67 million children live below the poverty line, we are not a post-
68 poverty America. Most states are seeing the first wave of welfare
69 recipients who have reached the law's five-year time limit. The easy
70 cases have already left the welfare rolls. The hardest problems remain
71 -- people with far fewer skills and greater barriers to work. People
72 with complex human problems, like illiteracy and addiction, abuse
73 and mental illness. We do not yet know what will happen to these
74 men and women, or to their children. But we cannot sit and watch,
75 leaving them to their own struggles and their own fate.

76 There is a great deal at stake. In our attitudes and actions, we are
77 determining the character of our country. When poverty is considered
78 hopeless, America is condemned to permanent social division,
79 becoming a nation of caste and class, divided by fences and gates and
80 guards.

81 Our task is clear, and it's difficult: we must build our country's unity
82 by extending our country's blessings. We make that commitment
83 because we are Americans. Aspiration is the essence of our country.
84 We believe in social mobility, not social Darwinism. We are the
85 country of the second chance, where failure is never final. And that
86 dream has sometimes been deferred. It must never be abandoned.

87 We are committed to compassion for practical reasons. When men
88 and women are lost to themselves, they are also lost to our nation.
89 When millions are hopeless, all of us are diminished by the loss of
90 their gifts.

91 And we're committed to compassion for moral reasons. Jewish
92 prophets and Catholic teaching both speak of God's special concern
93 for the poor. This is perhaps the most radical teaching of faith -- that
94 the value of life is not contingent on wealth or strength or skill. That
95 value is a reflection of God's image.

96 Much of today's poverty has more to do with troubled lives than a
97 troubled economy. And often when a life is broken, it can only be
98 restored by another caring, concerned human being. The answer for
99 an abandoned child is not a job requirement -- it is the loving
100 presence of a mentor. The answer to addiction is not a demand for
101 self-sufficiency -- it is personal support on the hard road to recovery.

102 The hope we seek is found in safe havens for battered women and
103 children, in homeless shelters, in crisis pregnancy centers, in
104 programs that tutor and conduct job training and help young people
105 when they happen to be on parole. All these efforts provide not just a
106 benefit, but attention and kindness, a touch of courtesy, a dose of
107 grace.

108 Mother Teresa said that what the poor often need, even more than
109 shelter and food -- though these are desperately needed, as well -- is
110 to be wanted. And that sense of belonging is within the power of each
111 of us to provide. Many in this community have shown what
112 compassion can accomplish.

113 Notre Dame's own Lou Nanni is the former director of South Bend's
114 Center for the Homeless -- an institution founded by two Notre Dame
115 professors. It provides guests with everything from drug treatment to
116 mental health service, to classes in the Great Books, to preschool for
117 young children. Discipline is tough. Faith is encouraged, not required.
118 Student volunteers are committed and consistent and central to its
119 mission. Lou Nanni describes this mission as "repairing the fabric" of
120 society by letting people see the inherent "worth and dignity and
121 God-given potential" of every human being.

122 Compassion often works best on a small and human scale. it is
123 generally better when a call for help is local, not long distance. Here
124 at this university, you've heard that call and responded. It is part of
125 what makes Notre Dame a great university.

126 This is my message today: there is no great society which is not a
127 caring society. And any effective war on poverty must deploy what
128 Dorothy Day called "the weapons of spirit."

129 There is only one problem with groups like South Bend's Center for
130 the Homeless -- there are not enough of them. It's not sufficient to
131 praise charities and community groups, we must support them. And
132 this is both a public obligation and a personal responsibility.

133 The War on Poverty established a federal commitment to the poor.
134 The welfare reform legislation of 1996 made that commitment more
135 effective. For the task ahead, we must move to the third stage of
136 combatting poverty in America. Our society must enlist, equip and
137 empower idealistic Americans in the works of compassion that only
138 they can provide.

139 Government has an important role. It will never be replaced by
140 charities. My administration increases funding for major social
141 welfare and poverty programs by 8 percent. Yet, government must
142 also do more to take the side of charities and community healers, and
143 support their work. We've had enough of the stale debate between big
144 government and indifferent government. Government must be active
145 enough to fund services for the poor -- and humble enough to let the
146 good people in local communities provide those services.

147 So I have created a White House Office of Faith-based and
148 Community Initiatives. (Applause.) Through that office we are
149 working to ensure that local community helpers and healers receive
150 more federal dollars, greater private support and face fewer
151 bureaucratic barriers. We have proposed a "compassion capital fund,"
152 that will match private giving with federal dollars. (Applause.)

153 We have proposed allowing all taxpayers to deduct their charitable
154 contributions -- including non-itemizers. (Applause.) This could
155 encourage almost \$15 billion a year in new charitable giving. My
156 attitude is, everyone in America -- whether they are well-off or not --
157 should have the same incentive and reward for giving.

158 And we're in the process of implementing and expanding "charitable
159 choice" -- the principle, already established in federal law, that faith-
160 based organizations should not suffer discrimination when they
161 compete for contracts to provide social services. (Applause.)
162 Government should never fund the teaching of faith, but it should
163 support the good works of the faithful. (Applause.)

164 Some critics of this approach object to the idea of government
165 funding going to any group motivated by faith. But they should take a
166 look around them. Public money already goes to groups like the
167 Center for the Homeless and, on a larger scale, to Catholic Charities.
168 Do the critics really want to cut them off? Medicaid and Medicare
169 money currently goes to religious hospitals. Should this practice be
170 ended? Child care vouchers for low income families are redeemed
171 every day at houses of worship across America. Should this be

172 prevented? Government loans send countless students to religious
 173 colleges. Should that be banned? Of course not. (Applause.)

174 America has a long tradition of accommodating and encouraging
 175 religious institutions when they pursue public goals. My
 176 administration did not create that tradition -- but we will expand it to
 177 confront some urgent problems.

178 Today, I am adding two initiatives to our agenda, in the areas of
 179 housing and drug treatment. Owning a home is a source of dignity for
 180 families and stability for communities -- and organizations like
 181 Habitat for Humanity make that dream possible for many low income
 182 Americans. Groups of this type currently receive some funding from
 183 the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The budget I
 184 submit to Congress next year will propose a three-fold increase in
 185 this funding -- which will expand homeownership, and the hope and
 186 pride that come with it. (Applause.)

187 And nothing is more likely to perpetuate poverty than a life enslaved
 188 to drugs. So we've proposed \$1.6 billion in new funds to close what I
 189 call the treatment gap -- the gap between 5 million Americans who
 190 need drug treatment, and the 2 million who currently receive it. We
 191 will also propose that all these funds -- all of them -- be opened to
 192 equal competition from faith-based and community groups.

193 The federal government should do all these things; but others have
 194 responsibilities, as well -- including corporate America.

195 Many corporations in America do good work, in good causes. But if
 196 we hope to substantially reduce poverty and suffering in our country,
 197 corporate America needs to give more -- and to give better.
 198 (Applause.) Faith-based organizations receive only a tiny percentage
 199 of overall corporate giving. Currently, six of the 10 largest corporate
 200 givers in America explicitly rule out or restrict donations to faith-
 201 based groups, regardless of their effectiveness. The federal
 202 government will not discriminate against faith-based organizations,
 203 and neither should corporate America. (Applause.)

204 In the same spirit, I hope America's foundations consider ways they
 205 may devote more of their money to our nation's neighborhood and
 206 their helpers and their healers. I will convene a summit this fall,
 207 asking corporate and philanthropic leaders throughout America to
 208 join me at the White House to discuss ways they can provide more
 209 support to community organizations -- both secular and religious.

210 Ultimately, your country is counting on each of you. Knute Rockne
 211 once said, "I have found that prayers work best when you have big
 212 players." (Laughter and applause.) We can pray for the justice of our
 213 country, but you're the big players we need to achieve it. Government
 214 can promote compassion, corporations and foundations can fund it,

215 but the citizens -- it's the citizens who provide it. A determined
216 assault on poverty will require both an active government, and active
217 citizens.

218 There is more to citizenship than voting -- though I urge you to do it.
219 (Laughter.) There is more to citizenship than paying your taxes --
220 though I'd strongly advise you to pay them. (Laughter.) Citizenship is
221 empty without concern for our fellow citizens, without the ties that
222 bind us to one another and build a common good.

223 If you already realize this and you're acting on it, I thank you. If you
224 haven't thought about it, I leave you with this challenge: serve a
225 neighbor in need. Because a life of service is a life of significance.
226 Because materialism, ultimately, is boring, and consumerism can
227 build a prison of wants. Because a person who is not responsible for
228 others is a person who is truly alone. Because there are few better
229 ways to express our love for America than to care for other
230 Americans. And because the same God who endows us with
231 individual rights also calls us to social obligations.

232 So let me return to Lyndon Johnson's charge. You're the generation
233 that must decide. Will you ratify poverty and division with your
234 apathy -- or will you build a common good with your idealism? Will
235 you be the spectator in the renewal of your country -- or a citizen?

236 The methods of the past may have been flawed, but the idealism of
237 the past was not an illusion. Your calling is not easy, because you
238 must do the acting and the caring. But there is fulfillment in that
239 sacrifice, which creates hope for the rest of us. Every life you help
240 proves that every life might be helped. The actual proves the possible.
241 And hope is always the beginning of change.

242 Thank you for having me, and God bless. (Applause.)

243 END 3:10 P.M. EST

APPENDIX 5

Appendix 5
Rebuilding Together Mr. McClellan's Home
Freshmen-Team (2004): Reflections and Hours Report
(by Mrs. C, Rosberg SL Director/ Teacher)

(The data has been coded in the following way: Underlined: to refer to theme of working together; **Bold**: phrases denoting fun : **Bold and Underlined**: phrases related to discovery of self; *words in italics* refer to students representations of those being helped)

- 1) **Amelia:** I helped others and got a lot accomplished. I observed an older house that needed lots of work, a very grateful man and students working together. I learned that there are *less-fortunate people* in Oklahoma City that really appreciate the help of Rosberg students. **I learned to be thankful for what I have**. Not only did I give back to somebody, **but I enjoyed myself**. I will remember being surprised about **how much fun** I had helping others. (8 hours)
- 2) **Laura:** I enjoyed helping *an underprivileged family* and **had fun**. I observed an old somewhat run-down house, which needed a lot of effort and work put into it. **I learned to be fortunate and thankful for what I have** and that there are *less fortunate people* who need others help. I will remember the look of joy on the man's face for the way we all helped and worked together. (8 hours)
- 3) **Simone:** I helped the *less fortunate* by fixing their house and also fix their house to their expectations and beyond. I observed that people were working as a team that helped get a lot of things done. I learned that teamwork would help to get things done faster. I will remember helping the man sort things down and conversing. **I learned that we are very lucky and should be thankful for our lives**. (12 hours)
- 4) **Andrea:** I worked to make the house safer and more presentable for the homeowners. I observed that people work together, which made projects go by much faster. I learned about home renovation and about the community which we worked in. **I had so much fun helping Mr. McClellan. I felt lucky and thankful for my life**. (8 hours)
- 5) **Evan:** I **had fun** and become better friends with the people around me. I saw a group of people come together with a set goal, that can completely better and change someone's life. We just worked together and got a lot accomplished. I will remember **how much fun I actually had**, how a group of people with set goals can completely change someone's life. (4 hours)
- 7) **John:** I did a lot of cleaning and painting, make numerous improvements on Mr. McClellan's house. I worked hard and we got a lot done to help. We worked hard to be of great help to the quality of life of Mr. McClellan. His living quarters is so much better now. I learned a lot about construction and installation of stuff, and **had fun doing** all these. I learned how to do a lot of things in construction, installing doors, doorknobs, carpet, etc. I felt good

about helping Mr. McClellan. He will have better quality of life. I will remember learning how to install doorknobs and doors. I will remember all the hard work we put in and how we changed Mr. McClellan's quality of life. (8 hours)

- 8) **Nick:** I went out there and **had fun**, got a lot done for the man and his wife. I learned **that helping others is fun**. (4 hours)
- 9) **David:** I helped change completely this man's house and his life. I had fun improving his life and family house and made it livable for them. I observed that this man and his family were in dire need of help and when we worked together, we made his life happier. I learned that sometimes even nice people can still live a very hard life. I will remember the look on Mr. McClellan's face when we were making such a good improvement to his house. **I learned to be thankful for what I have and for my family**. (8 hours)
- 10) **Mathew:** I helped and made their house look better than ever. I observed that some people are not as fortunate as some of the Rosberg people and that we actually need to help more often. I saw that people today were working harder to complete the house. "Harder is better." I learned that I should think about people that *are not as fortunate as I am when I want something*. I learned or actually felt a lot better seeing the man's smile as we completed painting and redoing his house. I will remember all of the toys in the backyard and the huge dog next door. **I will remember how I actually had fun painting** and moving furniture. **If it was just fun for me**, it was his life for him, I felt great. (12 hours)
- 11) **Maggie:** I worked to improve Mr. McClellan's house and **had lots of fun**. I think we will be able to improve this man's life style by changing his house. The house was in a better condition than yesterday, however it will still need more improvement to change this man's life. I observed that the man lives a whole different life style than we do, and that without our help he could not have cleaned his house. I will remember how everyone, no matter what grade they are in, worked together just to change someone's life. I will remember how happy the man is now that he sees how big of a difference the house looks. **I also learned how lucky we are for what we have**. (8 hours)
- 12) **Augie:** I learned skills on fixing a house through helping a veteran the best way that I can, to make the man's life better by organizing and fixing his house. I observed a very cluttered lifestyle helped by our generous donation. I also observed how much the man appreciated our help. I observed how easy it is to make somebody's life better when several people help out, and they want to help. I observed Mr C's happiness from what we are doing for him. I also observed how much I can learn from donating my time. I learned that whenever I helped and donate; it is well worth the hard work to see how happy the receiver of the donation is. I learned how much better Mr. McClellan's life is going to be when we finish fixing his house. I will remember the happiness on the man's face from my help. I learned when I saw how happy we made Mr. Mac and how much he appreciated us; donating your time make you feel better about yourself. One thing I will definitely remember

about today is, how I laid carpet for five hours to make a veterans life better. It was hard work **but it was fun.** (12 hours)

13) **Catrin:** I helped this man in appreciation for what he did for this country. I expect to continue using the skills I know to improve the house and life of this man. I observed a run-down house that needed a lot of work in a bad neighborhood. I observed a lot of people donating their time to improve this house. I learned to appreciate what I have because I have an unimaginable life compared to a lot of people. I learned to not take anything for granted and to appreciate things more. I will remember first walking into the house. I will remember how much better the house looked after we were done, and **how much fun we all had.** (8 hours)

14) **Claire:** I learned skills that I do not normally use to help an elderly man who cannot help himself. I observed the elation of a man whose life was made better by our redoing his home and listening to his stories. I learned now lucky and blessed I am. And we need to give back to others because somehow they have given to us. I will remember how important the letters were to Mr. McClellan. (12 hours)

15) **Sim:** I helped to make things beautiful at his house. I observed other people are *not as fortunate* as the people at Rosberg and we can make a difference to one's life. I observed that hard work pays off, and working together is fun. I will remember the dog next door and that we actually did something good. (8 hours)

16) **James:** I helped an older man gain respect through his house. I observed team workmanship. I learned some people are not as fortunate as I am, that made me thankful for my life. I will remember how we helped a man *who is less fortunate* than us. (8 hours)

17) **Dylan:** **I had fun** helping a man rebuild his house, using my work skills and interpersonal relationship skills. I think that I might be able to better appreciate the experience and make a good contribution. I observed my peers doing community service and enjoying it. They helped a man who could not otherwise do the work to clean and entire house out. I learned that I am very lucky to live in a sanitary, wealthy environment, and to have the things that I do. I will remember the fluctuations that occurred- all the furniture and boxes were outside- until the house was empty. Then we made the opposite happen. (8 hours)

18) **James:** **I had fun** helping this man with his house. I observed people helping by working together in any way possible. I learned that with teamwork and motivation anything could be accomplished. I will remember that this family now has a better environment to live. I learned to be thankful for what I have. (12 hours)

19) **Johnson:** I discovered myself. I observed people uniting that might not usually hang out that much working together. I learned that you could do anything you put your mind to. I will remember climbing on the roof to put up

siding. This was **really so much fun. I learned that I have such a wonderful life and am thankful for that.** (8 hours)

- 20) **Kirk:** I helped someone fix his or her life and **enjoyed the service** I am performing. I observed people working together to help other people. People helping *the needy* recollect their lives. **I learned that not everyone is as lucky as we are** and it is very good to help these people. I will remember the look on the man's face after we redid the house. I will remember the joy in his eyes after fixing his living quarters. (12 hours)
- 21) **Nehal:** I helped rebuild a person's life and **had fun** at the same time. I observed the community around the house and how different his situation is to mine. I learned how to help others and how good it feels to others. I will probably remember how my handwork helped the project and **the fun** I had with other by doing something good. (8 hours)
- 22) **Charlie:** I worked together with my team and got a lot done in the house. We worked hard and helped rebuild Mr. McClellan's house. I observed good teamwork. I learned when we work together; we get a lot more done. I learn how to put in carpet. I will remember working with Mr. McClellan and I will remember how happy he was. **I learned that I have a great family and a good life and how lucky I am.** (8 hours)
- 23) **Peter:** Mr. McClellan could live a greater life from now on, thanks to us. I observed that people working together to achieve a goal could do anything. I learned that working together as a team is better than people working individually. I will remember that I help change someone's life forever and that felt really good. I learned that helping is not only hard work but **also fun**. (12 hours)
- 24) **Ashley:** I helped the man have a better lifestyle after we improved his living conditions. I observed that it has been hard to complete everything and that I have had to do things that I have never known how to do. I learned that you have to be patient with everyone. You also have to learn and be able to work as a team with everyone. I will remember the time and effort that everyone has put in. (8 hours)
- 25) **Robert:** I helped to improve the house. I observed that she did not have a lot, but we helped her a lot. I learned that doing little stuff for someone could go a long way. Also that **we should be very thankful for our lives.** I will remember how much we helped them. (8 hours)
- 26) **Zack:** I helped to fix up a house. I observed a lot of people working together to accomplish a project. I learned how to paint walls and tear down fences. I will remember my sense of accomplishment and how it felt. (12 hours)
- 27) **Martin:** **I discovered myself through this experience, I learned to be thankful for my life.** I observed people who usually don't hang out come together and do something good. I learned to always be careful. I will remember the cool garbage truck. (12 hours)

- 28) **Grays:** I observed some kids working hard and some working not so hard. I observed less people working today, although it seemed that the same amount of work was completed. I realized also how much work could get done when working as a team. I also realized that working as a **team is fun**. The lessons I learned are that you cannot stop a project once you have started. The work we did for Mr. McClellan really made a difference in his life. I learned numerous names of tools and also learned how to help Mr. McClellan in any way I could. The one thing I will remember about today is the look on our families' faces when we had completed the work. (12 hours)
- 29) **Christina:** The man's house needed repairs and with the school's help, we helped improve his living conditions. There was so much work to do. I observed that the man could not do it on his own and needed help. I observed that we were all working well together after we had gotten started. I learned that changing a person's environment could give them a whole new outlook on life, and improve it for the most part. I learned that by doing this service, we not only made the man feel better, but we also felt better about ourselves. **It also showed us how much we take for granted the good life that we have.** I will remember everyone from different grades getting together to improve the man's housing. I will probably remember that we had the hardest time painting, but we were able to get together and fix the problems and still it was **all really fun**. (8 hours)
- 30) **Johnny:** I learned about helping people. I observed people uniting. I learned that *the less fortunate* need us. I will remember cutting the blinds. (4 hours)
- 31) **Alex:** I helped with painting and putting the house back together. I observed people caring together to help each other. I observed people working as a team. I learned we can work better as a group than as an individual. I will remember the look on the man's face when we arrived. I will remember the look of the house now compared to yesterday. **It showed me what we have and how thankful we should be.** (8 hours)
- 32) **Danielle:** I did a lot of repairs and painting. I observed that it's a lot of hard work, especially cleaning, sorting things as well as the rebuilding/repairing of things. I learned that it takes a lot of cooperation from everyone so that the job gets done and done well. I will remember how long it took to clear out the garage and the painting of the bathroom. **I remember that it was fun. I learned to be thankful for my life.** (8 hours)
- 33) **Maria:** There is still a lot to be done. I observed Mr. Mc's gratefulness and encouragement of our work as team. He directed us where to organize, move boxes in and out of the garage. I learned how to cut and place carpet, organize, paint, swept effectively and polish furniture. I learned neglecting piles does not make them go away. **I learned that hard work can be fun**. I will remember the musty air in the house and how impressed he was with our effort and time to help him. **Looking at his living conditions made me realise that we are so lucky for our lives.**(8 hours)

- 34) **James:** I helped my community and a man who really needed. I observed a group of young adults actually working as a team with **smiles in many faces**. I learned that we were **all having fun**. I learned that people working together for a good deed could really work. The work naturally makes you feel good about what you did. I will remember the look on the many faces throughout the day as we worked. **I also learned that we are really lucky for the lives we have at Rosberg.** (12 hours)
- 35) **Amri:** I helped a member of my community with his problems and to improve his life. I observed that his house was infested with stuff, random useless stuff. It was dirty and unsanitary as well. Things were filthy and seemingly unusable. **It made me extremely thankful for what I have. I was so fortunate and there are so many things I take for granted. It made me feel absolutely blessed.** I will remember the look in his face when we showed up at his house. It was the biggest, happiest smile. (8 hours)
- 36) **John:** I was able to use my time and skills to help someone who deserves it after all he has done for our country. I thought that the students working did an awesome job even though they might not have known it. They definitely changed that man's life and you could tell he appreciated it from the look on his face. I learned that when you do a project like this, you aren't just doing service. **It taught me about life and how fortunate I am here at Rosberg to have an awesome education and environment.** I think I will always remember how important teamwork is. It took a group effort to turn around that man's home and I am impressed how well people worked together even if they didn't know each other that well. (8 hours)

APPENDIX 6

APPENDIX 6

Interview with John S, Senior (Aged 17) Team leader for the First Boys and Girls Club Project Freshmen Team 2004

- 1 SS: John, why don't you just start by telling me about your project.
2 JS: Me and Grayson last year we did the freshmen orientation, service
3 learning thing and we decided to change it and make it better. We're
4 trying to make it more interactive and and fun for the kids. So right now
5 our first stage, we went through and we picked all our projects and see
6 how they going to do it. They have pretty much done all the planning but
7 they got it under control, they pretty much doing it all. And soon, today
8 we're going to the boys and girls club today and play flag football, it is an
9 after school activity for the kids, and see how it works. It's our first day
10 and see how it goes. Last year we just provided after school activities for
11 the kids cause they don't really have, their parents don't come and so
12 last year we played and helped them with their homework. And this year
13 we did the same thing. So organize tournament for flag football for the
14 kids so we have coaches, referees and we gonna have flag football.
15 There's gonna be about sixty kids and there's in our group, there is
16 maybe fifteen or twenty. Last year it was alright, we thought we could try
17 to make it a bit more interesting if we got to choose last year we didn't
18 really know what we wanted to do. The freshmen kids have not done
19 service learning before and so we're kind of handing it over to them.
20 SS: You guys wanted to make the project more interesting you said, for who?
21 JS: For the freshmen and they wanted flag football, this is just for our first
22 project and they we'll see where we'll go from there.
23 SS: Tell me about your personal involvement, what it has done for you or
24 even for the kids?
25 JS: We've been working on it for, in our freshmen year actually. We came up
26 with a new method actually, we call it the GW and JS foolproof project
27 method. It's called the Awesome Project that is, we have little acronyms
28 that we go through with our groups and it's almost one hundred percent
29 of the times, it works. There's four steps, I – for interests, we plan the
30 interests of the groups see how the group reacts, we have twenty kids,
31 we wrote all their interests down and see what their interests are. N for
32 Needs of the community, like who needs our help, so when we match it
33 with our needs we come up with projects. P for partners, who can help
34 us with the projects and F is for food stuff they, we bring along. We went
35 through this with all the different groups and they each planned their
36 projects. Other people are going to the Food Bank.
37 SS: So your fool proof project method, did it work?
38 JS: Yeah it's worked so far, this is what we want them to do. U know learn
39 more if they do it themselves, than to hand it to them, but let's see how it
40 goes, it is our first experimental thing, so we'll see.
41 SS: Tell me about the First Boys and Girls Club.
42 JS: It's a place, it's near downtown. It's a place for kids to go after school.
43 They really don't have anything else to do because their parents don't
44 come home from work till late, so this a place for them to hang out that is
45 safe and they get help with homework from us sometimes and we also
46 provide them with activities for them to do, to keep them busy.
47 SS: How often do you do this?

48 JS: We do this, we do it probably, it really depends, like we're gonna be
 49 doing this, we're gonna do this whole week and then maybe next year. I
 50 think there was something like this, one week in May or July last year.
 51 SS: Is this part of your hours?
 52 JS: Right this counts for hours.
 53 SS: Tell me about the kids in the club.
 54 JS: Their pretty much all ages, from kindergarten to fourth grades, there's a
 55 lot of kids really.
 56 SS: Do you know about their background?
 57 JS: They come from inner-city families that are really poor and don't have
 58 much things for them to do. We make them snacks and the last time we
 59 taught them the Food Pyramid and like nutrition and stuff.
 60 SS: You think that was useful for them?
 61 JS: Yeah came out in a pretty good way, we brought out the snack and did a
 62 sketch to teach them what's good to eat and so on. We had so much fun
 63 doing it, really enjoyed doing it.
 64 SS: What do you think JS, these kids why are they here and not at home?
 65 JS: I guess this comes from their parents, they are not there. I guess we're
 66 really trying to help them, make sure they stay in school and make sure
 67 they get a good education and so we help them with their homework and
 68 encourage them so that if they stay in school, they'll get a good job and
 69 maybe they can turn around and help their community with like what we
 70 are doing. So our overall goal of this is to get our kids at Rosberg, the
 71 ninth graders to get through these projects and maybe create new
 72 projects that will carry on. This is our first time and we've so we've been
 73 doing this project at the First Boys and Club.
 74 SS: I am sure you got to know some of the kids there, right? Tell me how has
 75 your involvement, how it has brought about some change in that child
 76 describe what you did, what the kids said etc.
 77 JS: Last time I worked with a little boy named George. He was from a family,
 78 his parents didn't get home till late so he came to the club. We helped
 79 him with his homework, we did all his homework and he was really
 80 smart, those kids are really smart. They just don't like to do
 81 homework, you know how kids are, so we did his homework. We learned
 82 that the kids wanted to have someone to talk to and some one to play
 83 with and they really don't have that at home any other time so, it's really
 84 good for them to hang out with people and with kids, like normal kids.
 85 SS: What do you mean by normal kids?
 86 JS: Normal kids. Just play and don't have to worry about being safe or
 87 wondering when their next meal is going to come from, and we come
 88 there and provide snack and games. Its good for them to come there and
 89 play and have fun and don't worry and relax.
 90 SS: Do you think you are doing enough?
 91 JS: Right what we're doing is we try to have fun while teaching them
 92 something. The last time we had fun and we played a game and then we
 93 also cleaned up trash around the neighbourhood, we like talked about
 94 the food and nutrition, school.
 95 SS: Do you think this project will be continued, what happens after you?
 96 JS: That's what we're trying to do right now, freshmen starting with ideas if
 97 they like it then they can continue doing it.
 98 SS: How did you identify their needs?
 99 JS: Mrs C did that, we just took it from there.
 100 SS: What is your impression of these kids?
 101 JS: They are all different, but ah, guess just got to get to know them.
 102 SS: Are they happy kids, you think?

103 JS: Yeah they're really happy kids and they really well brought up, so we
104 help them out a bit, I guess.

105 SS: What do you think is the best thing for them out of this project?

106 JS: The best thing for them is to see they have someone there that they can
107 work with and talk to and we're all, everyone doing this project is told that
108 we're all role models because the kids really look up to them, so we're
109 positive role models for them so they can follow us and be good like us.

110 SS: Who told you that you are role models?

111 JS: Mrs C.

112 SS: In what way are you role models?

113 JS: In every way, education like we are going to be in college someday. We
114 help them with their homework and they see how we are, see how we
115 work hard at school and that we can even help other people, like them
116 and despite that we can also have fun and we hang out with the kids and
117 talk to them.

118 SS: Do you think they're doing well in school?

119 JS: The kids I think they are, they're really smart kids, I was really surprised.

120 SS: Why were you surprised?

121 JS: You know being poor, coming from families like that, they their parents
122 are not there.

123 SS: Have you seen any difference or improvement in their work?

124 JS: No we gonna but once we start this project we are gonna start following
125 up. It's hard you know, time, we don't have much time, and the freshmen
126 need to be interested in this project, we don't know.

127 SS: How do plan to follow up, if you can?

128 JS: I am just gonna hand it over to the freshmen and get them to do it. See
129 what they want to do, it's pretty much their own projects now. What they
130 think is fun to do. This is their project already and they will do it, so let
131 them do it.

132 SS: You have done it before did you do follow up?

133 JS: We didn't really have a follow up project, so, we did not.

134 SS: What is the home environment for the kids, you think?

135 JS: A lot of times it's not very good but sometimes, the parents don't always
136 come home. A lot of the kids have to do stuff by themselves, like make
137 their own foods, cook and stuff. They have a house but they don't have a
138 place to go to after school. The neighbourhood, that is not safe and to
139 hang out with older kids who are not very good for them like gangs and
140 stuff, so we give them that safe haven for them, and they get a chance to
141 hang out with us.

142 SS: Do you think you have gangs at Rosberg?

143 JS: No, there are no gangs, pretty positive about that.

144 SS: You sound very sure. Why do you think there are no gangs in Rosberg?

145 JS: Our background is different, well-off families, private schools all our lives.

146 SS: Is there alcohol abuse?

147 JS: Obviously that is there but not gangs and stealing and gang fights, no. It
148 does happen occasionally but not at Rosberg.

149 SS: Are you going to continue with service after your project?

150 JS: Oh I have already finished all my projects, so I am just doing this,
151 because I care about the kids and the projects and also about the
152 freshman, that they should also care about the community and what they
153 can do and this is what they show.

154 SS: Do you get to talk to the kids at the club?

155 JS: After 'power hour' I spent a lot of time and talk about what they do in their
156 lives, they are just kids so they don't have great view of life, so we just
157 talk about stuff, we get to know what they are really like.

158 SS: Sixty kids and fifteen of you, how does that work out?

159 JS: Well we get to partner and that is great.

160 SS: Do you talk to them about things like telling them to study hard and get a
161 good job etc, because you are role models?

162 JS: Really a lot of the kids they will ask you questions about stuff they're
163 really interested, but they'd rather talk about themselves. They ask they
164 don't really have reasons to ask but they ask and we do the best that we
165 can to answer their questions.

166 SS: How did you play the part of the role model today?

167 JS: Any role model it doesn't just happen like that in thirty minutes. You gotta
168 spend time with them and get to know them. After a brief period that is
169 the tough part but then you know how to be a role model, that is why we
170 need more for this project, because the kids they need more than time to
171 learn to be role models.

172 SS: What do you do as a role model, how do you act as role model, portray
173 yourselves as role models, do u put on certain kind of clothes etc?

174 JS: (laughs) We do, we clothes, okay we wear uniforms, dress code, collared
175 shirts and khaki shorts or trousers, but then u can be a good role
176 model or a bad role model.

177 SS: How do you define a good role model from a bad one?

178 SS: Good role model, well hopefully all the people we take to the club are
179 good role models, they're positive, someone that is there for the kid and
180 can help the kid with what he wants, he is worried about his homework
181 and he can't understand a problem. A bad role model would say, 'oh that
182 is just homework, it doesn't matter that much, let's go out and play. A
183 good role model would say ' oh I could help you with that, I was in third
184 grade once, and this really helps when you get to eight grade, and then u
185 have to learn this again and I will show you how to do it'. You work
186 through with them through that problem and it's not just with math and
187 stuff, it's life too. If you are with the kid, and they have problems, you can
188 show him ways he can solve the problems by himself.

189 SS: Have you met any bad role models, does anyone keep track or keep
190 tabs on you guys to make sure that every one behaves as a good role
191 model?

192 JS: Obviously there are some kids who don't care, in our teams. Teenagers
193 they don't care about these things and that is what we are trying to do.
194 People get to pick their interest, so hopefully they are interested which is
195 what we kind of had a problem with last year. We didn't know what we
196 were doing and why we're doing it. The kids now have their own projects
197 so hopefully they're gonna want to hopefully get a good team.

198 SS: What do they get out of it?

199 JS: For me it's just a funtime, I mean I have fun helping other people,
200 hanging out with kids that don't really have any one else, it is just fun for
201 me. Cause it is fun to see how happy those kids at the Club are, and that
202 makes me happy to see their face. So hopefully the freshmen will get an
203 understanding about the kids, there are people out there who don't have
204 as much as we do, cause we are kind of sheltered in our gates. You
205 could say, we are the privileged ones, with all that we have to be thankful
206 for I guess. So hopefully they'll know that there are people out there that
207 need our help and real problems and stuff that we can solve. Last year
208 every one filled out reflection sheets and last year they said that they did
209 not know that there were people like that out there, they could, they
210 really just needed someone they could hang out with, they learned about
211 the community. That is why I started this project again.

212 SS: What kind of people out there?

213 JS: You know not as privileged or fortunate like us. I think it's really taught us
214 to be thankful for what we have and our parents are great people. Thank
215 God for that.
216 SS: Thank you JS. This has been a really interesting chat. Good luck with
217 keeping the project going.
218 JS: You're welcome. Been great chatting with you too.

APPENDIX 7

Appendix 7
Interview with Carol P,
National SL Trainer/ Teacher

- 1 SS: What do you want the students to get out of their service activity?
2 CP: We're just talking about getting our students to do a good deed,
3 we're not talking about you goin' in there and you fix the
4 problem...and I think the transformation the students go through.
5 They are seeing somethin' new, something they're not used to.
6 You know, parents don't really encourage their children to meet
7 certain kind of people, people who come from a different kind of
8 environment from themselves. And this is what we're giving to our
9 students. A chance to get to know people from a different
10 environment, to get out of their own bubbles. I stress that we do
11 keep our students away from anything we think may be negative
12 for them, but with service learning, they're gettin' a great
13 opportunity to see reality that's out there, and we're always there
14 to keep it safe for them. We're putting our kids in an area in a
15 place they're not comfortable all the time, because these kids who
16 are rich, really don't wanna have to do anything with those
17 people, they really don't, and why is that, because reality is not
18 very nice, it's not pretty.
- 19 SS: I found teachers and students mention the 'feel good factor'.
20 CP: I'll be very honest when I work with the kids, I've been doin' this
21 with my youth team with the local high school for the past ten
22 years. I do it because I have a commitment to my daughters to do
23 this and because its my way of remaining in touch with youth
24 today. I do it because I've been very fortunate in my life and I'm
25 thankful for that. But I don't really think about what I get out of it,
26 I mean when I'm working with the kids, I'm thinking of , if you
27 belong in this country, you have a responsibility to give and do.
28 That's the way I was raised, that if you are part of this country, you
29 have a responsibility for civic duty. I don't call this civic duty, I
30 just say its' my responsibility for my community, its my duty to
31 my country, and you need to be doing this. I role-modeled it for
32 my children, just as my mother and father role- modeled it for me.
33 I just feel that, that aspect is missing hugely. With the kids, when
34 they serve food, or do something for the community, people
35 are nice to them. And they are also thankful to the kids. They hand
36 out a cookie to someone, it really gives the students a good feeling.
37 They know that helping others makes you feel good about
38 yourself. And we want to maintain that feeling, keep it going, that
39 feel good thing that happens inside them. But, I want them to feel
40 that it is their responsibility that it is something we do, not only
41 because we feel good, that you get paid, or because somebody told
42 you, but you did because you begin to feel, your role, your
43 commitments to your fellow Americans and that is very personal.
44 And for me that's what I want the kids to get from my programs
45 and for my teachers to get that across.
- 46 SS: You mentioned something about being a role model, does that
47 happen with the students as well?
- 48 CP: I am always a role model for the kids no matter where I am. I am a
49 role model, and I really need to remember that, and I think a lot of
50 adults do that when they have responsibility. And that's how we're
51 trying to connect between youths and adults. And that's what we

52 want our students to get out of service learning, that they need to
53 be good role models for others and to set good examples. Show
54 others to follow in their foot steps. Some of these people they
55 meet, like the kids, they really never had a good role model in their
56 lives, parents too busy, bad neighbourhoods and it's really our kids
57 job to try and show them a good way. That they study hard, make
58 it to college, and still have time to give back to the community,
59 help others. That's what we want them to be, what this country
60 needs.

61 SS: SL is fantastic, but something I observed. Why are teachers not
62 looking at the bigger issues, like poverty, why it exists or
63 unemployment social issues, and government budget, you know,
64 the real issues that keep people poor.

65 CP: (Laughs) Hmm the bigger picture. Because teachers are hired by
66 taxpayers, and teachers are beholden to school boards and schools
67 boards set policies and so when your superintendent or your
68 principle says, 'No! You are not doing that!' Teachers aren't going
69 to be. They won't do it. Well, they can't! Their jobs are at risk.
70 And people would say, 'Ohh! we have plenty of teachers and we
71 have plenty of jobs.' That really doesn't help the teacher who's
72 lived in the community for fifteen years and has decided, This is
73 where I want to live, this is where I want to work, this is where I
74 have a job. And I'm putting my job at risk in a place I want to be.
75 And so they won't do it, it's very hard. If the students get involved
76 with charged or emotional issues, teachers are then you know,
77 they're the big targets. People aren't going to go after the kids.
78 They're going to go after the adults, those who supervised them,
79 and principles also do not want to raise hackles of the community
80 because the basic reason why, right now is just money. Many
81 districts in the country are having to go to referendum to get
82 money to fund general operating costs through their school
83 districts. Well if I wanted the tax payers to vote, why would I
84 allow my students to get involved in heated community issues over
85 which I have no control, which might make the school look like a
86 bad place for youth to be. Look at those kids, why aren't they, why
87 aren't they learning basic math, they can't even pass tests, why are
88 taking them out of those class, they should be in their class, they
89 should be in those rooms, sitting there blah, blah, and obviously
90 coming from people who haven't a clue about how people really
91 learn, so that's one of the key issues amongst a few others, for
92 teachers, which is teachers are reluctant to, okay you might, you
93 might have a teacher who says, oh we're going 73 to collect food
94 cans for the food pantry. She says good job they did a good job,
95 but on the other hand does the teacher ever then asks kids through
96 reflection to think about okay what did we do, we collected the
97 food and how does that work for you. You know, what were you
98 thinkin' about when you were collecting the cans. What is the,
99 what is the real meaning behind what we have done, let's really
100 think more broadly about this food pantry issue. And of course
101 some student in the room is going to say, Well why is there
102 homelessness in this country anyway? Why are people homeless
103 anyway? What, what does that mean in a country, the land of milk
104 and honey where there is some much available and we have people
105 in food lines. Well that is, is the, is the uhmmmm it is the dichotomy,
106 dichotomy that certain political groups do not want anyone to think
107 about and clearly we do not want a public discourse that leaves

108 certain political people, I believe do not want a public discourse
 109 about some very basic issues in this country. I've a friend of mine
 110 who says, who said to me, Carol you know there's enough money
 111 in this country for everyone to be just fine, but those who have
 112 clearly do not want to share or find a way to enable those who do
 113 not have. Well in some way, we're getting our kids to give back in
 114 some way, but about the bigger issues, I think you got the picture
 115 here.
 116 CP: But think about this, the fact of the matter is that funding federal
 117 dollars that are allocated towards national service and service
 118 learning are decreasing. They had not, this is you know but George
 119 Bush can say, oh the congress did that, I sent the bill to congress
 120 and I requested funding, but the reality is that there has not been a
 121 real increase particularly for Learn and Serve America, which is
 122 the service learning arm of the Corporation for National
 123 Community Service. That funding has been static at forty-two
 124 million and right now its going, its been set at forty-million, So
 125 right now, they got it less, they've got it listed for a decrease. This
 126 is definitely less from what Clinton gave us. So it is really clear to
 127 me that there is an agenda that's being moved here and so you got
 128 Republicans, and I think Mr. Bush is a Republican, so you've got
 129 Republicans in Congress who I have to believe, I am not stupid, I
 130 have to believe they get their marching orders, and so publicly he
 131 says one thing but privately he does another. This is really funny.
 132 Who is really benefiting here? It's Bush's government really. Is the
 133 tax payers money being used for the community, so who is really
 134 doing something for the poor really? We are, not the government.
 135 And we try to do something through our kids and hopefully they'll
 136 continue the tradition. The history of this country is that was that
 137 we were formed on service and so, it's a historical, I wont call it an
 138 empirical thing, but it's a historical, cultural thing. Service has
 139 always been considered a part of who, and what we are. Initially in
 140 this country legislators, were not paid, they were not paid, they
 141 gave of their time because it was considered their civic duty, its
 142 what we were all called to do. And that through the years has been
 143 eroded when legislators began to say, 'well you know my time has
 144 value' and you know, so you know because initially everybody
 145 was part time. The Congress was part time, the State Legislators
 146 were all part time, because these guys were planters and they had
 147 to go and plant. They couldn't be, be at the state capital all the
 148 time. Well that has eroded now to the point now where all,
 149 practically all legislators and certainly federal folk are fulltime
 150 employed people at that jobs taking away the kinds of, I know they
 151 would, 'say its my civic duty I could be making more money here
 152 and there', and but I would say they are making pretty good
 153 money. I mean compare the guy who's making \$25,000 and the
 154 senator is making \$190,000. I say, I think he's making pretty good
 155 bucks, looks like to me they're on easy street. So, where's the civic
 156 duty thing, there is only a power trip for you. I think the whole
 157 notion of the original founding fathers was of how this country
 158 would be. How the people would be very involved and I think
 159 there was the feeling that you would serve an x number of terms
 160 and then you would, you know other people would come in there,
 161 would be more than just one person in that position, for forty years
 162 till they die out of it. I think that whole concept has been eroded
 163 grossly to the point that we have a fully paid legislators systems.

164 It's a separate economic system, they operate separately, for
165 example federal employees do not participate in the social security
166 system, they have their own, they have a separate, they do not pay
167 social security.
168 CP: So I think these ruse about social security right now that is so
169 bogus. I can't believe people are going for that, but I want to bring
170 us back to the whole concept of service. As you've seen people out
171 there saying, 'I'm doing service learning, but they're not doing
172 service learning, maybe they're doing community service or
173 something, and they're missing the whole point. Well it may not be
174 a matter of Service learning, it attracts the emotion of our youth, it
175 gets them charged, what did they say yesterday, 'emotion mitigate
176 all learning'. If you like it you're gonna learn it. If you have fun
177 you're gonna learn it. I think all things I cherish in school are what
178 I enjoyed. So, so get the kids to have fun that way they learn best.
179 They learn about life and what they have and, and they learn to be
180 thankful. They will learn that helping others is fun. And through
181 service learning we want our kids to have fun, enjoy the service,
182 really just have fun doing something for the community.
183 SS: Thank you very much Carol for your time and for yours insights
184 on Service Learning.
185 CP: It really was my pleasure. Thank you.

APPENDIX 8

Lead number 2

Since 1992, Rebuilding Together OKC - formerly Christmas in April - has repaired more than 700 homes of low-income, elderly homeowners in the metro area at a value to our community of more than \$8 million.



Rebuilding Together™

Imagine being 72 years old, having an income of \$1,100 per month and being a widow. You have bills to pay, medical expenses and a house to maintain. It is a difficult choice when it comes down to paying for medicine or home repairs. You are the average client of Rebuilding Together.



BRING YOUR LAWN CHAIR & watch the race!

REBUILDING TOGETHER INAUGURAL CONSTRUCTION DERBY

PRESENTED BY
THE OKLAHOMAN
COME JOIN THE FUN
SUNDAY, OCT. 3
"The Hill" in Deep Deuce
(N.E. 2nd and Stiles, east of Bricktown)

THE RACE IS ON
Live Music by Kinky Skinny Food!
Fun for the Whole Family!
Bring the kids and enjoy a fun-filled block party!

Success Stories...

H is a decorated Korean War veteran and calls proudly and proudly of serving his country. After the war, he came back and ran a service station at NE 4th and Walnut for many years until the Commercial Expressway was built. He watched his business slowly erode away. Still, he was able to provide for himself and his family all those years. And, he was on top of things until his wife died. He slowly lost motivation, the house got older, repairs mounted up and it was more than he could handle. At 74, he did a lot of cleaning up before we arrived. He wanted to help the team, and did what he was physically able to do. He watched and visited with team members as his home was transformed. We painted, replaced rotten siding, installed storm doors, fixed broken windows, completely rebuilt the shower/bath plumbing, cleaned out the sewer line and more. He felt like the renovation was one of the nicest things anyone had ever done for him in his life. "Well, I'm just thankful the Lord let you all come and living my house," he said.

She was the victim of a break-in. They took her refrigerator and through the back door, leaving a path of destruction. We made repairs to make her home safe again, including new back steps, handrails, a new front door, and new flooring and windows in her kitchen. We also installed a grab bar in her bathtub.

She is caring for grandson. She needed a roof - which at the time

was beyond their budget. She found a way to get the roof, and we found a way to make other repairs. At Christmas, one team had their "holiday party" at her home and installed shovels where there were bare studs in the back half of her home, including her grandson's room, and trimmed out the doors. In the spring, another team went in and finished the job. "Each and every one was so great in volunteering your professional time into making our home a 'real' home," she said.

They had done the best they could to take care of their home. With him confined to a wheelchair, it had taken extra wear and tear. The doors were not wide enough for his chair to pass through and the ramp had no handrails. The bathroom was not accessible, and the plumbing did not work properly. We were able to replace the thread-bare carpet, widen the concrete cinderblock doorways, repair the plumbing and add handicap features. We also replaced doors, the roof and more. "So ever since they came in and don't mind, I pray God gives them all the funding they need 'cause there's so many people out there in need," he said.

Construction
One of our favorite team captains reminds his volunteers that a week or two after the work is complete, "the homeowner has hopefully forgotten our names, but I remember our spirit." They do it not for thanks, but because it is the right thing to do.

Did You Know?

● The typical Rebuilding Together client is elderly and/or disabled and often has a housing cost burden. One-half of all low-income homeowners have an elderly and/or disabled family member in their home. In most instances, the elderly person is the head of the household. And, 4.5 million homeowners are elderly people living alone, 80% of whom are women—most, widows.

● Elderly homeowners have unique physical housing needs—their ability to see clearly, grab door handles, reach for cabinets, move about the bathroom and navigate steps, all decline.

● Elderly people are less willing to move despite the physical condition of their home. They prefer to age in their own home unless forced to move by economic condition or severe health problems.

● Each year, one of three Americans over the age of 65 falls. Injuries are the fifth leading cause of death among people over 65 and two-thirds of injuries are caused by falls. Surveys indicate tripping is a primary cause.

● Oklahoma ranks 15th in the nation in percentage of population 65 and over. By 2020, one in six Oklahomans will be at least 65. The fastest growing segment is 85 and older.

With more than 2,800 volunteers each year, Rebuilding Together OKC now repairs/modifies more than 100 homes a year at no cost to the homeowner.

We are saving homes and saving lives.

Success Stories . . .

Story A

1 He is a decorated Korean War 3 was beyond their budget. She
2 veteran and talks fondly and 4 found a way to get the roof, and
3 proudly of serving his country. 5 we found a way to make other
4 After the war, he came back and 6 repairs. At Christmas, one team
5 ran a service station at NE 4th and 7 had their "holiday party" at her
6 Walnut for many years until the 8 home and installed sheetrock
7 Centennial Expressway was built. 9 where there were bare studs in
8 He watched his business slowly 10 the back half of her home, includ-
9 erode away. Still, he was able to 11 ing her grandson's room, and
10 provide for himself and his family 12 trimmed out the doors. In the
11 all those years. And, he was on top 13 spring, another team went in and
12 of things until his wife died. He 14 finished the job. "Each and every
13 slowly lost motivation, the house 15 one was so great in volunteering
14 got older, repairs mounted up and 16 your professional time into mak-
15 it was more than he could handle. 17 ing our home a 'real' home,"
16 At 74, he did a lot of cleaning up 18 she said.

17 before we arrived. He wanted to
18 help the team, and did what he was
19 physically able to do. He watched
20 and visited with team members as
21 his home was transformed. We
22 painted, replaced rotted siding,
23 installed storm doors, fixed broken
24 windows, completely rebuilt the
25 shower/bath plumbing, cleaned
26 out the sewer line and more. He
27 felt like the renovation was one of
28 the nicest things anyone had ever
29 done for him in his life. "Well, I'm
30 just thankin' the Lord for you all
31 coming and fixing my house,"
32 he said.

Story B

1 She was the victim of a break-in.
2 They took her refrigerator out
3 through the back door, leaving a
4 path of destruction. We made
5 repairs to make her home safe
6 again, including new back steps,
7 handrails, a new front door, and
8 new flooring and windows in her
9 kitchen. We also installed a grab
10 bar in her bathtub.

Story C

She is raising her grandson. She
needed a roof — which at the time

Story D

1 They had done the best they could
2 to take care of their home. With
3 him confined to a wheelchair, it
4 had taken extra wear and tear.
5 The doors were not wide enough
6 for his chair to pass through and
7 the ramp had no handrails. The
8 bathroom was not accessible, and
9 the plumbing did not work prop-
10 erly. We were able to replace the
11 thread-bare carpet, widen the
12 concrete cinderblock doorways,
13 repair the plumbing and add
14 handicap features. We also
15 replaced doors, the roof and more.
16 "So ever since they come in and
17 done mine, I pray God gives them
18 all the funding they need 'cause
19 there's so many people out there
20 in need," he said.

Conclusion

1 One of our favorite team captains
2 reminds his volunteers that a
3 week or two after the work is com-
4 plete, "the homeowner has hope-
5 fully forgotten our names, but
6 remembered our spirit." They do
7 it not for thanks, but because it is
8 the right thing to do.

Did You Know?

- 1● The typical Rebuilding Together client is elderly and/or disabled and often has a housing cost burden. One-half of all lower-income homeowners have an elderly and/or disabled family member in their home. In most instances, the elderly person is the head of the household. And, 4.5 million homeowners are elderly people living alone, 80% of whom are women—most, widows.
- 2● Elderly homeowners have unique physical housing needs—their ability to see clearly, grab door handles, reach for cabinets, move about the bathroom and navigate steps, all decline.
- 3● Elderly people are less willing to move despite the physical condition of their home. They prefer to age in their own home unless forced to move by economic conditions or severe health problems.
- 4● Each year, one of three Americans over the age of 65 falls. Injuries are the fifth leading cause of death among people over 65 and two-thirds of injuries are caused by falls. Surveys indicate tripping is a primary cause.
- 5● Oklahoma ranks 13th in the nation in percentage of population 60 and over. By 2020, one in six Oklahomans will be at least 65. The fastest growing segment is 85 and older.

**With more than 2,500
volunteers each year,
Rebuilding
Together OKC now
repairs/modifies more
than 100 homes a year
at no cost to the
homeowner.**

Since 1992, Rebuilding Together OKC has repaired 733 homes, 28 non-profit facilities, and eight public school buildings with the help of over 30,000 dedicated volunteers. These needed repairs represent a value of more than \$8 million.

Rebuilding Together OKC, a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization, improves the living conditions of low-income elderly homeowners in the Oklahoma City metropolitan area by making necessary repairs and modifications to their homes. Facilities used by community organizations also are eligible for improvements.

Formerly Christmas in April, the non-profit organization started working in Oklahoma City in 1992.

The name was changed to Rebuilding Together to better reflect what the program does. "We're not just one Work Day in April anymore," said Valerie Aubert, executive director of Rebuilding Together OKC. "We work year-round on emergency and home modification repairs."

Rebuilding Together utilizes the labor of thousands of volunteers, in-kind materials and donations to make these repairs throughout the year and on the annual April Work Day. The focus is on keeping our seniors in their homes and allowing them to age in place—independent, safe, warm and dry. Surveys show that the vast majority of people prefer to age in place, and most will not move unless forced to by economic

conditions or severe health problems. It is difficult when it comes to choosing between paying for medicine and food or home repairs.

Rebuilding Together OKC helps keep seniors in their homes, by making repairs to their homes. These repairs include replacing windows and doors, installing locks, repairing leaky roofs, fixing minor plumbing and electrical problems, painting, installing siding, trash removal, and general clean-up.

People are living longer and outliving their savings and retirement. Elderly people are less willing to move, despite the physical condition of their home. Among those 65 years of age and older, 9.7% live in poverty. As baby boomers enter retirement, the current 22 million low-income homeowner group is expected to grow to 28.5 million by 2010 and almost 62 million by 2025. In that year, the elderly will comprise more than 18.5% of the total U. S. population.

Statistics show that 40% of seniors fall each year, with a large number of those falls caused by tripping. In 2000, 1.8 million elderly fell and required a visit to the emergency room at a cost of \$16.4 billion. Hip fractures average \$33,000 per patient. In addition to helping keep seniors' homes secure and weatherproof,

Rebuilding Together OKC makes modifications to help seniors more easily navigate their homes by building wheelchair ramps, installing grab bars, handrails, levered handles, hand-held shower heads, and other accessibility modifications. As a

byproduct, the program also saves homes and revitalizes neighborhoods.

Year-Round Program

Sometimes projects arise that just can't wait until April. These emergency/home modification projects include restoring heat, replacing a door or window, minor plumbing, installing grab bars and handrails, and, of course, installing ramps. Since these projects are not large enough to engage an entire team, individually skilled volunteers perform these tasks. "We have a need for volunteers in skilled trades," said Aubert. This "as-needed" program began in 2000-2001 with 15 repairs. During 2002-2003, a total of 52 projects were completed. The application qualifications are the same as for April Work Day projects.

Volunteers

With more than 2,500 volunteers each year, Rebuilding Together OKC now repairs/modifies more than 100 homes a year. Volunteers include roofers, lawyers, carpenters, students, doctors, electricians, teachers, plumbers, military personnel, business executives and others. Volunteers represent a number of organizations, including corporations, places of worship, federal agencies, schools and civic organizations.

April Work Day

April 16, 2005 is the next Rebuilding Together OKC Work Day. Each volunteer team provides a team captain and a skilled

97 captain who plan the scope of work and
98 the materials needed to complete the pro-
99 ject. Project assignments are made in
100 mid-February.

How to Apply

101 Applications are accepted year-round.
102 Social service agencies, religious organi-
103 zations and individuals refer clients to
104 Rebuilding Together OKC. All applica-
105 tions are first reviewed to confirm
106 eligibility and then an evaluation team is
107 sent out to do an on-site evaluation of
108 each qualified applicant's home and
109 determine the extent of potential work.
110 Homeowners are notified in January
111 whether or not they have been selected as
112 an April Work Day project. Year-round
113 projects are reviewed, accepted and
114 scheduled in a timely manner.

115 To qualify, applicants must be 60 years of
116 age or older, must own and reside in the
117 home and must be financially unable to
118 make repairs. "The average age of our
119 applicants is 72," Aubert said. "The aver-
120 age income is \$1,000 per month, with
121 some as low as \$300."

122 Applicants must live in Oklahoma City,
123 Edmond, Bethany, Warr Acres, the Village,
124 Midwest City or Del City. The boundaries
125 are Danforth Road, Post Road, County
126 Line Road and S. 89th St. The majority of
127 the homes are in the northeast and south-
128 west part of the city, Aubert said.

Donations

129 Local and national businesses, organiza-

130 tions and individuals donate all
131 funds for the operation of the
132 program.

**For every \$1
raised,
Rebuilding
Together OKC
returns \$4 worth
of goods and
services to the
community.**


133 The organization purchases materials at
134 wholesale, obtains in-kind materials and
135 utilizes volunteer labor. Rebuilding
136 Together OKC provides all materials and
137 labor at no cost to the homeowner and no
138 repayment is expected.


A National Organization

139 Rebuilding Together's national
140 organization was formed in 1988 with 13
141 loosely organized programs. Today, as part
142 of the largest volunteer rehabilitation
143 organization in America, work takes place
144 at more than 250 affiliates serving 865 cities
145 and towns in all 50 states. More than 2.3
146 million volunteers have worked to
147 rehabilitate 87,450 homes and non-profit
148 facilities. In 2004, more than 275,000 men
149 and women donated over three million
150 hours of time to rehabilitate more than
151 8,500 homes and non-profit facilities
152 nationwide.

APPENDIX 9

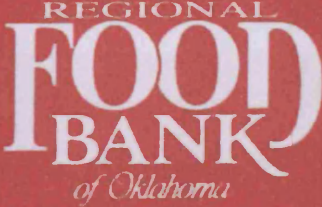
APPENDIX 9
REGIONAL FOOD BANK OF OKLAHOMA





For more information please contact the
Regional Food Bank
of Oklahoma at:
3357 S. Purdue - P.O. Box 275968
Oklahoma City, OK 73137-0968
(405) 972-1111
Fax (405) 635-0447
www.regionalfoodbank.org

Thanks to members of the
Oklahoma City Ad Club
who donated design, copy, photography
and printing services for this brochure.



Our mission is to help the
charitable community effectively
feed people in need.

①

A NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION

The Regional Food Bank of Oklahoma is a nonprofit organization, exempt from Federal taxation under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code.

WHO WE SERVE

The Regional Food Bank of Oklahoma distributes food to nonprofit agencies and religious organizations who directly feed the hungry including:

- children's programs
- women's shelters
- mobile meal programs
- homeless shelters
- senior citizen centers
- drug and alcohol treatment centers
- soup kitchens
- emergency food pantries

SPECIAL EVENTS

The Food Bank participates in a number of special events each year. These fun and rewarding activities raise public awareness of the needs we fulfill and our mission in the community. Funds

②

raised at these events benefit thousands of Oklahomans each year.

- The Chefs' Feast
- Harvest Food Drive / Scouting for Food
- Letter Carrier's Food Drive
- Balloon Fest
- Derby Duck Dash
- Taste of Elegance

FUNDING

The Food Bank is funded through private donations. Our financial support comes from local foundations, corporations, religious organizations, civic groups and individuals. Participating feeding programs contribute an average of eight cents per pound, which pays 40 percent of the Food Bank's operating expenses.

AMERICA'S SECOND HARVEST

The Regional Food Bank of Oklahoma is a member of America's Second Harvest, the largest charitable network of food banks in the nation. America's Second Harvest is the nation's largest nongovernmental food distribution program.

TO DONATE PRODUCTS

Organize a canned food drive through your business, religious organization, civic organization or school. Food industry retailers, wholesalers, processors and growers can donate food and other goods to the Food Bank. All kinds of food are needed: dry, refrigerated, perishables, produce and frozen products. We also need donations of other products such as paper goods, soaps, cleansers and personal care items.

TO DONATE MONEY

Monetary donations are greatly appreciated to help Food Bank sustain current food distribution program and to enable us to meet the food banking challenge the future. A contribution to the Food Bank is a good investment. For each dollar of operating expense, \$1 worth of food is distributed to community feeding programs. Our pledge to contributors is that 100 percent of every dollar donated will be used to feed the hungry not for administrative costs.

③

SECOND HELPINGS

41 The Second Helpings program collects unserved,
42 prepared food for direct delivery to on-site
43 feeding programs for the needy. Food is donated
44 by restaurants, caterers, hotels, hospitals,
45 schools and other food service providers.
46 Standards for acceptance and handling of these
47 products were set in conjunction with the
48 City/County Health Department.

COMMODITY FOOD PROGRAM

49 The Food Bank contracts with the Oklahoma
50 Department of Human Services to distribute
51 USDA Commodities to charitable feeding
52 programs conducted by some 250 eligible
53 member agencies. Over four million pounds of
54 food a year is now available through this program,
55 including canned vegetables, fruits, juices and
56 dry products such as pasta, rice and beans.

KIDS CAFE

57 The Food Bank assists 15 Kids Cafe sites in the
58 Oklahoma City, Enid, El Reno, Wilson and
59 Ardmore areas. These centers provide
60 enrichment programs in a safe atmosphere for
61 at-risk children. Kids Cafes offer meals,
62 recreation and other assistance after school and
63 during summer months.

PRODUCE PEOPLE CARE

64 More than 1.7 million pounds of produce last
65 year alone was recovered and distributed to
66 feeding programs across the state - providing
67 much needed fruits and vegetables to those
68 in need.

COMMUNITY GARDENING

69 This Food Bank program allows us to grow and
70 harvest our own product to distribute, as well as
71 provide a sense of community with our
72 neighbors.

④

RURAL DISTRIBUTION SITES

73 The RDS program provides monthly food
74 delivery to 20 sites outside the Oklahoma City
75 metroplex for pick-up by agencies in
76 surrounding areas.

PURCHASE FOOD PROGRAM

77 To supplement donated food products and
78 provide nutritional balance, some items are
79 purchased and offered to member feeding
80 programs at the same low price paid by the
81 Food Bank.

KOTN CLUSTER

82 The Regional Food Bank of Oklahoma acts as
83 a host for four other America's Second Harvest
84 affiliate food banks in the KOTN Cluster, which
85 includes Wichita, Kansas; Lubbock and
86 Amarillo, Texas; and Albuquerque, New
87 Mexico. The Food Bank accepts nationally
88 donated product for distribution in these areas,
89 which helps the participating food banks in the
90 cluster receive a greater product variety.

RECOVERY CENTER

91 Over a million pounds of damaged or
92 discontinued grocery items are processed
93 through the Recovery Center each year.
94 Volunteers, along with work crews from the
95 Oklahoma Department of Corrections, inspect,
96 clean and box these products for distribution.

TO DONATE TIME

Please call us to volunteer. Our volunteers contribute thousands of hours each year, assisting with office tasks, special events and fundraisers as well as sorting products for distribution. Volunteer schedules are flexible, including weekdays, evenings and weekends.

TO DONATE PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE

Share your professional knowledge with the Food Bank. We can benefit greatly from volunteers with expertise in a wide range of fields such as legal counsel, nutrition, graphic design or carpentry.

TO LEARN MORE ABOUT THE FOOD BANK

Call us or check out our website at www.regionalfoodbank.org. We will provide you with a speaker for your business, religious organization, school or civic organization. Our speakers will tell you more about hunger in Oklahoma and what you can do to help. They also offer information on specific member agencies' programs and about food banking in general. We would be happy to demonstrate how food banking works, giving you or your group a tour of our facility.

5

HUNGER IN OKLAHOMA

Hunger in Oklahoma is a reality - about 1/2 million of our neighbors are at risk of going hungry.

ONE IN FIVE CHILDREN

One in five children in Oklahoma does not get enough to eat in order to sustain their growth and development.

THERE IS A SUPPLY

Regional Food Bank of Oklahoma distributed 14.3 million pounds of food in 2000.

THERE IS A DEMAND

Providing 21 years of service and distributing over 120 million pounds of food, valued at more than \$201 million, to families and children in need.

VOLUNTEERS ARE OUR LIFEblood

Last year 3,700 Food Bank volunteers donated over 30,000 hours of time to help provide food for their fellow Oklahomans.

Overview: The Regional Food Bank of Oklahoma operates as a central clearinghouse through which the food industry and community may donate surplus

REGIONAL
**FOOD
BANK**
of Oklahoma

food and other goods. We distribute products through nearly 200 charitable feeding programs in 53 counties of central and western Oklahoma.

APPENDIX 10

APPENDIX 10
ABOUT FOOD BANK OF OKLAHOMA



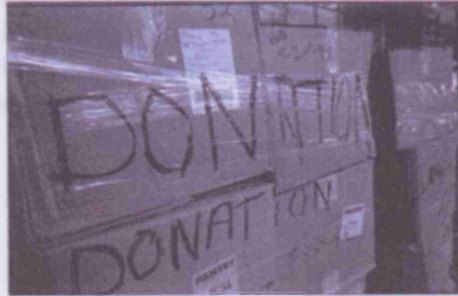
About

About the Food Bank

Hunger Facts
Participating
Agencies
Programs &
Services
Events & Food
Drives
Calendar of
Upcoming
Events
How to Help
Contact Us

About the Food Bank

1 The **Community Food Bank of Eastern Oklahoma** is a
2 nonprofit organization that serves as a center through
3 which donated grocery items are distributed to other
4 nonprofit organizations, such as food pantries, soup
5 kitchens and emergency shelters, feeding needy people in
6 Eastern Oklahoma.
7 In addition, the
8 Food Bank conducts
9 programs to benefit
10 those organizations
11 and to raise public
12 awareness about
13 hunger and the role
14 of food banking in
15 alleviating hunger. Founded in 1981 as the Tulsa
16 Community Food Bank, the organization adopted the new
17 name in January 2002 to better reflect its extensive service
18 area of 24 counties in Eastern Oklahoma.



19 The Food Bank currently distributes food to more than 460
20 partner programs throughout its 24-county area. In turn,
21 **those programs collectively feed 50,000 people each**
22 **week.**

23 Counties served: Adair, Cherokee, Choctaw, Craig, Creek,
24 Delaware, Haskell, Latimer, LeFlore, Mayes, McCurtain,
25 McIntosh, Muskogee, Nowata, Okmulgee, Osage, Ottawa,
26 Pittsburg, Pushmataha, Rogers, Sequoyah, Tulsa, Wagoner,
27 Washington

28 **In Fiscal Year 2004, the Food Bank distributed over**
29 **8.5 million pounds of food**—300 semi-truck loads—to its
30 460 partner programs throughout the 24-county area. The
31 majority of our member programs report an increase in the
32 number of people seeking food assistance. Distribution in
33 FY 2003 is up by nearly a million pounds of food compared
34 to 2002 due to the growing demand for food assistance.

35 All of our food is donated. Monetary contributions are
36 needed to facilitate getting the food into the warehouse
37 and distributed throughout our service area. **For every \$1**
38 **contributed, the Food Bank returns \$9 worth of**
39 **donated food to the community.**

40 The Community Food Bank of Eastern Oklahoma is a
41 member of America's Second Harvest, the nation's largest
42 hunger relief organization, with a network of more than
43 200 food banks and food-rescue programs.

APPENDIX 11

APPENDIX 11: LETTER TO MRS C. FROM REGIONAL FOOD BANK OF OKLAHOMA



*"Fighting Hunger...
Feeding Hope"*

August 11, 2004

From: A

Re: Students Against Hunger

Dear Ms. C:

1 *One child out of every five in Oklahoma is at risk of not getting enough to eat.* The
2 Students Against Hunger Food Drive is an easy way to make an investment in
3 Oklahoma's future. Formerly known as the Harvest Food Drive, this event now focuses
4 on our most effective participants: *students!* In 2003, over 150 schools participated in
5 the drive and collected more than 135,000 pounds of food for Oklahoma's hungry. This
6 year's Students Against Hunger Food Drive will take place between October 11 and
7 November 19, 2004.

8 Last year, 15 metro-area school districts participated in the Students Against Hunger
9 Food Drive. The food each school collected was distributed to the agencies in *their* area,
10 so that they knew they were directly helping the needy in their neighborhood. This
11 remarkable drive couldn't be possible without the Regional Food Bank's Youth
12 Leadership Board comprised entirely of local students to plan, implement, and promote
13 the drive.

14 We would greatly appreciate your consent to the principals from each of the schools in
15 your district regarding their participation in Students Against Hunger 2004. Each
16 representative will be presented with a packet of support curriculum including samples
17 of service projects for teachers to use during the food drive as well as materials to help
18 promote the drive within each school. Your continued support will help make this year's
19 food drive a success.

20 The enclosed information outlines the Regional Food Bank of Oklahoma and the
21 Students Against Hunger food drive. If you have any questions or to contact the Food
22 Bank about your district's participation, please contact A _____ or
23 _____ at regionalfoodbank.org.

Sincerely,

Executive Director

enclosures

3355 S. Purdue • P.O. Box 270968 • Oklahoma City, OK 73137-0968
(405)972-1111 • Fax (405)688-6447 • www.regionalfoodbank.org




APPENDIX 12

APPENDIX 12: POINTS OF LIGHT FOUNDATION

POINTS OF LIGHT
&
HANDS ON NETWORK

Home | Login | Search | Media Center | Support/Give

Volunteer Centers | Our Networks | Programs | Resources | Awards | About



▶ PLAY

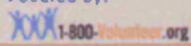
Together we can make a difference.

FIND A LOCAL VOLUNTEER CENTER:


ZIP code:

Or state:


Go

Powered by:


As of August 1, 2007, the nation's two largest volunteer networks, the [Points of Light Foundation](#) and the [Hands On Network](#), combined forces to empower Americans to build a better world through volunteering. [Learn more <<<](#)



BE GREAT. VOLUNTEER.
CELEBRATE THE KING DAY OF SERVICE JANUARY 21, 2008.



NEWS

[NYTimes Features Merger of Points of Light & Hands On Network](#)
[Merger of Hands On Network and Points of Light Foundation to Create World's Largest Volunteer Organization](#)

[More news >](#)

OPPORTUNITIES

[National Conference on Volunteering and Service - June 1-3, 2008](#)
[The Principles of Excellence: An Employee Volunteer Program Assessment](#)

[More opportunities >](#)

MEMBERSHIP RESOURCES


[Strengthen Your Workplace Volunteer Program](#)
[Memberships as unique as your organization. Learn more!](#)

THE NATION'S VOLUNTEER OF THE DAY

CARLA MORALES
[Learn More >](#)

[Nominate a Volunteer](#)

[VolunteerResource.org](#)



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ABOUT

The Points of Light Foundation & Volunteer Center National Network engages and mobilizes millions of volunteers who are helping to solve serious social problems in thousands of communities. Through a variety of programs and services, the Foundation encourages people from all walks of life — businesses, nonprofits, faith-based organizations, low-income communities, families, youth, and older adults — to volunteer.

Based in Washington, D.C., the Foundation advocates community service through a partnership with the Volunteer Center National Network. Together, they reach millions of people in thousands of communities to help mobilize people and resources, which deliver solutions that address community problems.

The Foundation has gained a national reputation as America's Address for Volunteering. As President George W. Bush commented, "The Points of Light Foundation embodies America's spirit of volunteerism and the goodwill of its citizens."

Mission

The Foundation's mission is to engage more people and resources more effectively in volunteer service to help solve serious social problems. [Learn more >](#)

MISSION STATEMENT

The Foundation's mission is to engage more people and resources more effectively in volunteer service to help solve serious social problems

The Meaning Behind Our Mission Statement

1. **WE ENGAGE:** While the Foundation does not directly mobilize or coordinate
2. specific volunteer initiatives within local communities, we do support the efforts
3. of Volunteer Centers and other agencies that are responsible for coordinating
4. volunteers. We believe that a sustained (long-term) commitment by volunteers is
5. the best way to make a significant difference in the lives of others. Episodic,
6. occasional or one-time volunteering is also important, but may not develop the
7. appropriate long-term knowledge or experience necessary for volunteers to solve
8. today's serious social problems.

9. **MORE PEOPLE:** Our goal is to engage everyone in volunteering from every
10. walk of life. We also believe that "people in need" should also volunteer as a way
11. to learn how to reconnect themselves to their society and its resources. Ultimately,
12. we want volunteering to become a way of life for every citizen; for people to
13. believe that volunteering isn't just nice to do, but necessary.

14. **MORE EFFECTIVELY:** Increased social needs and decreased personal time has
15. made volunteering an extremely valuable resource. Therefore, it's vitally
16. important for volunteers to be engaged in worthwhile activities that make a
17. difference. Our role is to provide the appropriate knowledge, skills and tools for
18. volunteers to be effective.

19. **IN VOLUNTEER SERVICE:** We believe that volunteering isn't simply nice to
20. do, but that it must be a necessary part of our lives. Volunteers are people who are
21. committed to be responsible for and serve others without reward. People are the
22. key ingredient for success. When people don't reach out to those in need, society
23. becomes fragmented and serious social problems will result. If social
24. fragmentation becomes too far-reaching, social normality will be totally
25. destroyed. Serious social problems aren't simply prevented or solved with private
26. funding or government programs. It requires the human connection established by
27. volunteers. The cost of solving serious social problems without volunteers would
28. be astronomical. In fact, today's volunteer workforce represents the equivalent of
29. over nine million full-time employees whose combined efforts are worth \$225
30. billion (based on \$14.30 an hour in 1998).

31. **TO HELP SOLVE:** While we believe that volunteering is an effective solution,
32. the Foundation is not a "volunteer." Therefore, we help to solve serious social
33. problems by supporting the efforts of Volunteer Centers and other organizations
34. that do coordinate local volunteers and initiatives. Our work is also directed at
35. preventing social problems, not just solving them.

36. **SERIOUS SOCIAL PROBLEMS:** Serious social problems are those problems
37. that cause considerable disruption to our lives and the lives of others. And
38. the characteristics and frequency of social problems may vary within each local
39. community, the problems generally fall into major categories: homelessness,
40. violence, poverty, personal abuse, substance addiction, health, etc. The
41. Foundation also supports volunteering for cultural or environmental initiatives,
42. but our primary focus is set on serious social problems.

STRATEGIES: HOW WE IMPLEMENT OUR MISSION

The Points of Light Foundation & Volunteer Center National Network effects volunteering by implementing three strategies: to provide local delivery systems; build skills, knowledge and programs; and raise public awareness.

Provides local delivery systems:

- to build a strong, unified network of local Volunteer Centers to increase quantity and quality of volunteering, while mobilizing people in communities to solve local problems;
- to convene the most appropriate organizations at both national and local levels to focus on resolving issues critical to the success of the volunteer movement;
- to help focus and leverage the financial resources to support local volunteering; and
- to provide worldwide leadership and consultation in helping other countries develop volunteer programs and delivery systems.

Builds Skills, Knowledge and Programs for Volunteers

- to enable organizations to engage volunteers in achieving their organization missions and priorities more effectively;
- to develop local leadership for effective volunteering;
- to create opportunities for people to make a difference in their communities; and
- to recognize the outstanding volunteer efforts of individuals and organizations.

Raises Public Awareness

- to ensure that volunteering is part of the public's consciousness, that's its value to the community and to those who volunteer is well-understood and people know what they can do and how to get connected with the work that needs to be done;
- to help policy makers, funders and local leaders understand the importance of a sustained focus and appropriate resource to build local and national volunteer support systems;
- to focus and leverage the financial resources on behalf of major foundations and corporations to support local volunteering; and
- to recognize the outstanding volunteer efforts of individuals and organizations

